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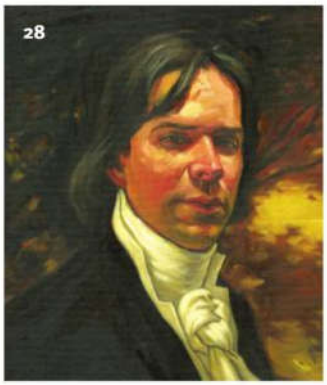

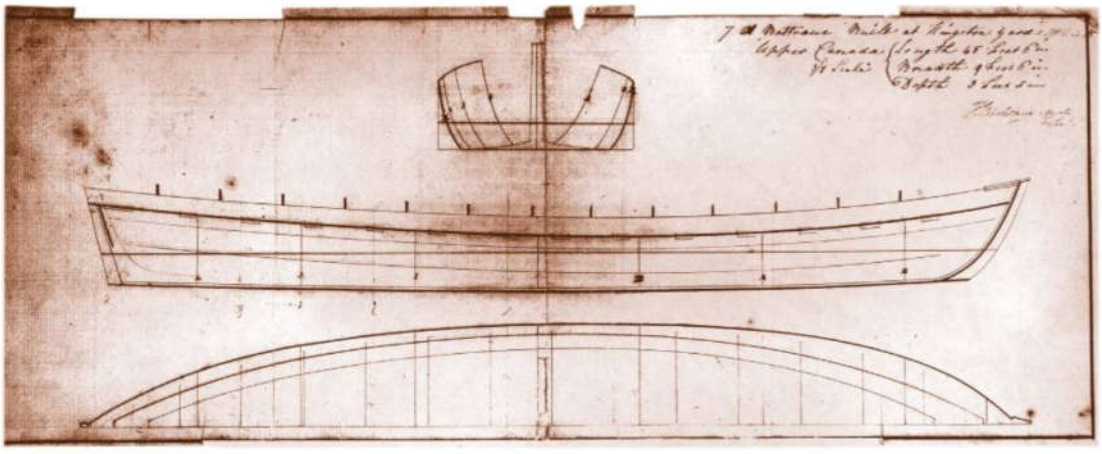

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Annalee Greenberg Editor
Doug Whiteway Associate Editor
Susan Falk Assistant Editor
Michel Groleau Art Director
Dorothy Bosma Editorial Assistant
Tanja Hütter Web Editor

Advertising Representatives:
Brian Stendel
Phone: (416) 630-4274 **Fax:** (416) 630-8557
E-mail: bstendel@historysociety.ca
Michael Wile
Phone: (416) 531-1483 **Fax:** (416) 531-1612
E-mail: michaelwile@historysociety.ca

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Phone: (204) 988-9300
Fax: (204) 988-9309
Toll Free 1-800-816-6777
E-mail: thebeaver@historysociety.ca
Member Services E-mail:
memberservices@historysociety.ca
World Wide Web site:
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The Beaver was founded in 1920 by the Hudson's Bay Company, whose commitment to the History Society and its programs continues today through the ***Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation***.

Letters

Poles apart

It is ironic that in your June/July 2005 issue, you have two articles dealing with two senior military officers, one French, the other English, who, though living during the same era, were poles apart in character and behaviour.

Victor Suthren describes Louis-Antoine de Bougainville as a civilized, honourable man of warmth and decency. On the other hand, André Pelchat's article on the deportation of the Acadians showed a deceitful Lawrence who lied to his superiors in London to justify his expulsion of the Acadians. One must remember that Lawrence was also involved in the deportation of the Scottish Highlanders after the Stuart Rebellion.

A French historian once wrote that "Lawrence was the hateful example of the English military caste, which in the 18th century, showed itself destitute of any scruple or honour." All I can say is that it does not matter what era, there are and will always be good and bad people. That Lawrence is still considered a hero in Nova Scotia and the Acadians still blamed for not taking the oath, tells us something about the world we live in and the way history is taught.

BERNARD DERIBLE
HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA

Pervasive perversity

It was the term *ethnic cleansing* that set me exploring new paths in the forest of Canadian history. What I discovered was that the expulsion of the Acadians was neither the first nor the most brutal of the ethnic cleansings in early Canadian history ["The Amazing Grace of the Acadians, June/July 2005].

In 1696–97, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, with a mixed force of Canadien militia, Indian allies, and French soldiers, swept through the English settlements of Newfoundland, killing and burning until Newfoundland was virtually emptied of English colonists.

Over 1730, 1731, and 1734, the Marquis de Beauharnois, using Canadiens and Indian allies, annihilated the Fox nation in what we today would call an act of genocide – if we bothered to think about it.

It was not only the Europeans who engineered ethnic cleansings: in 1649 the Hodénosaunee (Iroquois) wiped out the Wendat (Huron) as identifiable communities in the Lake Huron region.

In Samuel Hearne's journal, we read that Matonabbee and his Chipewyan followers massacred an entire camp of Inuit, their traditional enemies. The act was small compared to modern incidents of ethnic cleansing, but the attitudes were identical.

Strangely, the Acadian expulsion can be remembered today because it was relatively benevolent. The Acadian identity survives because the expulsion allowed the Acadian community to have descendants.

ROBERT J. MACMILLAN
BRANTFORD, ONTARIO

Amazing strength

I recently sailed to Hobart, Tasmania, in Australia and was most surprised to see in the Battery Point Park, a monument to the Acadians who had been deported to that part of Australia ["The Amazing Grace of the Acadians," June/July 2005]. It is a most beautiful part of the world, but I felt saddened to think that the deportation had reached that far away. What a dreadful legacy the British left and what amazing strength displayed by the Acadians who returned after so much anguish.

LISE CERNY
OAKVILLE, ONTARIO

A price to pay

I have just read the article in your June/July issue entitled "The Amazing Grace of the Acadians" by André Pelchat. I was sorry to note that Mr. Pelchat did not deal more fully with the question of the oath of allegiance sworn by the Acadians to the British monarch.

When the Acadians became British subjects in 1713, the British required an oath of allegiance from them if they wished to remain in the colony. The Acadians naturally did not wish to swear one that would require them to fight their French cousins; and negotiations continued for a decade or so. A compromise was reached: the Acadi-

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ans swore allegiance, but with the proviso that they would be neutral as between Britain and France.

This compromise held until 1754. In that year, the French attacked the British in the Ohio valley, and the following year the British attacked Fort Beausejour. When it fell, several hundred Acadians were found in the fort, in breach of their oath.

These men were not refugees, and even cooks or latrine diggers are part of any organized fighting force. Acadians who did not want to live in the British colony had every opportunity to move to French-held areas, and some had done so. These men were there to fight for France, and so were in breach of their oath. This was treasonous, and as is said, you may hate an enemy, but you despise a traitor. The expulsion was a logical result of the breach and the hardships that followed.

I support the desire of the Acadians to understand their history and to renew their identity. But it does them no service as Acadians, or us as Canadians, to impose a victim psychology on them. They made their own decisions and lived with the consequences.

They were not, as the article suggests, "sent... from their ancestral homeland for the crime of being French." That is a gross calumny. And thirty-five years later, the United Empire Loyalists paid a similar price for adhering to their oath. Both groups survived. Let's not make this more that it is.

ALEXANDER PATON
VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA

Nomenclature note

I was greatly perturbed and dismayed by your reference to the temporary shelters (caves) used by my grandparents on their arrival in 1899 to the Prince Albert area Doukhobor land reserve [April/May 2005, Currents, p.5].

These structures were *not* caves but natural hillside wedges, folds, draws, or ravines that were minimally excavated by hand, lined with logs, and roofed with aspen trees and sod. In some sense they could be described as longhouses. In the Ospennia (Assumption) settlement, there were three or four of these that provided shelter for several families.

In my estimation, the archaeological digs carried out in the summer of 2004 were far less authentic than those described in several press reports that appeared in the daily and weekly newspapers and in some magazines. The digs were done in several locations other than the original ravine sites.

LAURENCE E. OSACHOFF
SASKATOON, SASKATCHEWAN

Macdonald memory

I read with interest the article about John A. Macdonald [June/July 2005, Currents, p. 7]. Working for the Manitoba Centennial Corporation in 1969–70, I was fortunate to interview ninety-nine-year-old Bob Mc Quarrie in the Minnedosa Legion pub in the spring of Manitoba's centennial year – 1970 – and hear about how he met a famous Canadian.

In 1970 Mr. McQuarrie was blind and quite deaf but recalled for me how he had met Prime Minister John A. Macdonald in Blythe, Ontario, when he was eleven years old. It was an election year – 1881 – and the prime minister was whistle-stopping on the train through southern Ontario. Mr. McQuarrie's father, a staunch Liberal, decided to take his son to see John A. After all, he *was* the prime minister. Many people were lined up on the station platform to greet John A., and as he approached the McQuarries, the father thrust out his hand and said "Shake a good Grit hand!" The eleven-year-old McQuarrie remembers John A. stepping back in mock dismay, smiling and saying "No! Not possible. Too honest a face!" He shook hands with both McQuarries and moved on.

Bob McQuarrie died in 1970 in his 100th year.

R. KEITH SMITH
QUALICUM BEACH, BRITISH COLUMBIA

The Vancouver version

In the June/July issue you had an article on the evolution of "O Canada." While rummaging through some old family papers and keepsakes, I came upon a program from the Fifth Annual Concert by the University of British Columbia Musical Society held in the Vancouver Hotel Ballroom on March 23, 1921. At the top of the first page of the program are the words for "O Canada." Your article mentioned several versions used in Ontario and Quebec; I thought you might be interested in this version, used in Vancouver (it seems to encompass the whole of Canada, except for the last two lines, which would now be turfed out as being politically incorrect):

O Canada, in praise of thee we sing.
From echoing hills our anthems proudly ring;
With fertile plains and mountains grand,
With lakes and rivers clear.
Eternal beauty thou dost stand
Throughout the changing year.
Lord God of Hosts, we now implore,
Bless our dear land this day and evermore.

JOHN HARLOW
KAMLOOPS, BRITISH COLUMBIA

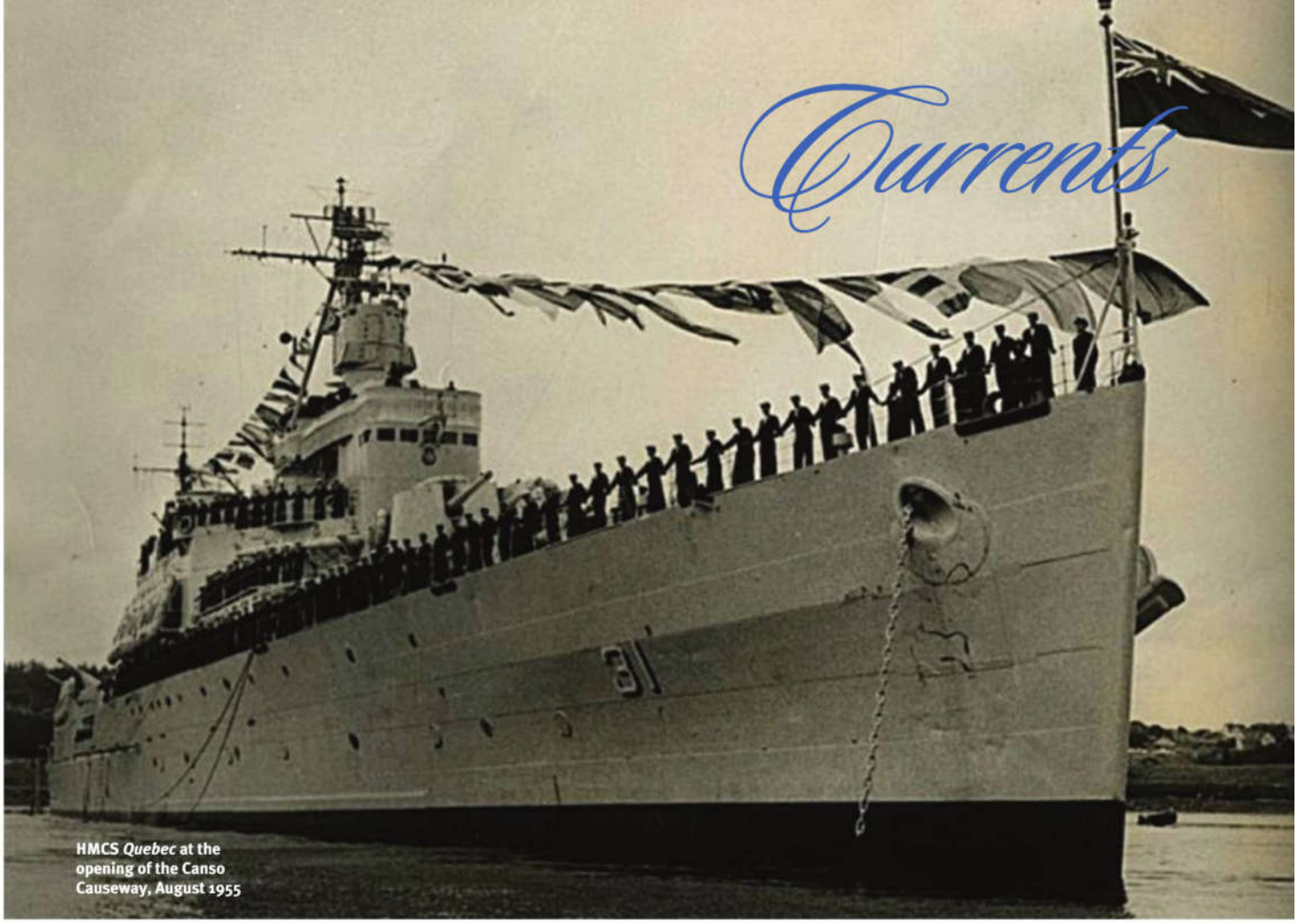
Editor's note

I arrived at the *Beaver*, in December 1997, in the middle of a busy production cycle. From that day forward, I would learn more about my country's past than I'd ever known in the previous four decades. But more important, I would come to know *Canadians* – as represented by the readers, writers, and *Beaver* staff – as a passionate, curious, and exceptionally generous bunch. Looking back at the pages of the past seven years, this community is visible: the colleagues who bring their tremendous talent and intelligence to wordsmithing and design; the writers who bring passion for their subject and their desire to share what they've learned; and you, the readers, who not only respond to our offerings with your thoughts, reactions, and shared experiences, but who go out of your way to let us know what you think, care about, and want to learn more about. For that, I thank you.

This is my last issue as editor of the *Beaver*, and while I hope it has brought both enlightenment and pleasure to you during my tenure, I'm certain it will continue to forge connections, between readers and writers, the past and the future, for many years to come.

ANNALEE GREENBERG
WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

More Letters The *Beaver* website has more letters to the editor. To see letters that may only be available online, go to <www.thebeaver.ca>, and click on "Extra! Extra!" to get to the "Letterbox" section.



HMCS *Quebec* at the opening of the Canso Causeway, August 1955

CANSO CAUSEWAY 50TH ANNIVERSARY SOCIETY

ANNIVERSARY

Cannot! Canso!

Some 10,000 people are expected to converge on the Strait of Canso, August 7 to 14, for art exhibits, concerts, reunions, fireworks, and a host of other activities. The reason for all the fuss? The Cape Breton Island area is marking the fiftieth anniversary of the construction of the Canso Causeway. At first glance, the anniversary of the connection between the island and the mainland seems like a slim reason for such a large celebration. However, Bob MacEachern, chair of the Canso Causeway 50th Anniversary Society, points out the causeway holds special meaning for Cape Bretoners, especially those who have been away from the island for any length of time. "When they see the causeway for the first time again, it evokes a lot of emotion because it's a signal they have returned home to Cape Breton."

Several ideas were floated before the causeway gained approval. One was for a high bridge between the island and the mainland, but that lost favour after the Canso Bridge Company missed a federal government-imposed, six-year deadline in 1908 for completion of the project. A low-level span later was rejected as well after engineers cast doubt on the ability of the bridge's pillars to withstand pressure from shifting ice and high winds during the winter.

The causeway got the go-ahead in 1952. The $23-million causeway contains some 10-million tons of rock, which were used to close the strait. The rock came from nearby Cape Porcupine, where the granite was blasted out from the rock face 125,000 tons at a time. Fourteen trucks hauled the rock to the water, where a bulldozer pushed the loads in. The work included a canal and lock system and a ninety-four-metre bridge that swings from the centre to allow ships in and out of the strait. When the causeway opened on August 13 in 1955, 100 pipers marched across, playing the "Road to the Isle."

The construction of the causeway changed the water currents, turning the Strait of Canso into an ice-free port, and subsequently attracted industry to the area, such as lumber giant Stora Enso. Not every community prospered as a result of the construction. The causeway ended ferry service to the region and small communities such as Point Tupper, which depended upon their business, ended up shuttered. Such memories – both good and bad – will be the focus of the celebrations in August. As MacEachern notes: "The causeway affected daily lives and in many different ways."

More anniversary information about the Canso Causeway is available at <www.cansocauseway.ca>.

–Charles Mandel

State funeral of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, April 13, 1868

ANNALS OF WEAPONRY

More bucks for the bang

It's not on display yet, but before long it will be. The Canadian Museum of Civilization didn't buy the Smith & Wesson six-shot revolver used 137 years ago to assassinate Father of Confederation Thomas D'Arcy McGee just to park it in the basement. Purchased at auction in Hamilton recently for $105,000, the gun, plucked from the pocket of assassin Patrick James Whelan after his arrest and somehow passed down through the family of one Scott Renwick, a Dundalk, Ontario, auto mechanic, will most likely end up in a new gallery devoted to significant Canadian people and personalities slated to open in the next two years. Though Ottawa's Bytown Museum wanted the gun, too, the price was too rich for its blood, so the big museum across the Ottawa River in Gatineau ended up the lucky bidder. Lucky, too, that the gun remained out of the hands of American collectors. The revolver moving stateside, some historians say, would have been like the weapon that killed Abraham Lincoln hopping north of the forty-ninth parallel. It was only nine months after Confederation that Whelan, a Fenian sympathizer, shot Irish expatriate McGee in the back of his head as he was turning his key in the door of his Sparks Street rooming house. The murder is Canada's first (and only) political assassination; the funeral for McGee was the first state funeral of the new Dominion; and Whelan's later execution was the country's last public hanging – a trio of notable firsts (and last). Meanwhile, the bullet, which was recovered after it lodged in the rooming house doorframe after piercing McGee's skull, seems to have been misplaced.

ARTIFACT

Uniform

A 1911 catalogue of artifacts Niagara Historical Society was displaying at Memorial Hall listed this red wool coat with white tiebacks and green hearts as belonging to "Capt. Daniel Servos, of Butler's Rangers, donated by Mrs. D. Servos."

Daniel Servos never served in Butler's Rangers, a loyalist militia raised during the American Revolutionary War. In 1779, he was commissioned as a lieutenant of the Indian Department, which from 1755 to 1830 acted as a branch of the British Army, and which during the American Revolution maintained close relationships between the British Army and its native allies. Servos was involved in the 1777 battle at Oriskany, New York, and the 1778 battle at Wyoming. After the war, he, along with thousands of others loyal to the Crown who had lost their homes, settled in Niagara at Four Mile Creek, near present-day Niagara-on-the-Lake, where he became a miller.

Whether there was an official uniform for the Indian Department is unknown. Most likely an officer for the department like Servos would have had a uniform tailored to look similar to those worn by British officers at the time. The coat, which most closely resembles the cut of a late eighteenth-century French coat, has been recut – perhaps modified by Daniel Servos himself. Experts at the Niagara Historical Society & Museum believe it is possibly the only pre-1822 Indian Department jacket in Canada. Indian Department uniforms were only standardized after that date.

Further information on the Niagara Historical Society & Museum is available at <www.niagara.com/ ~nhs>.

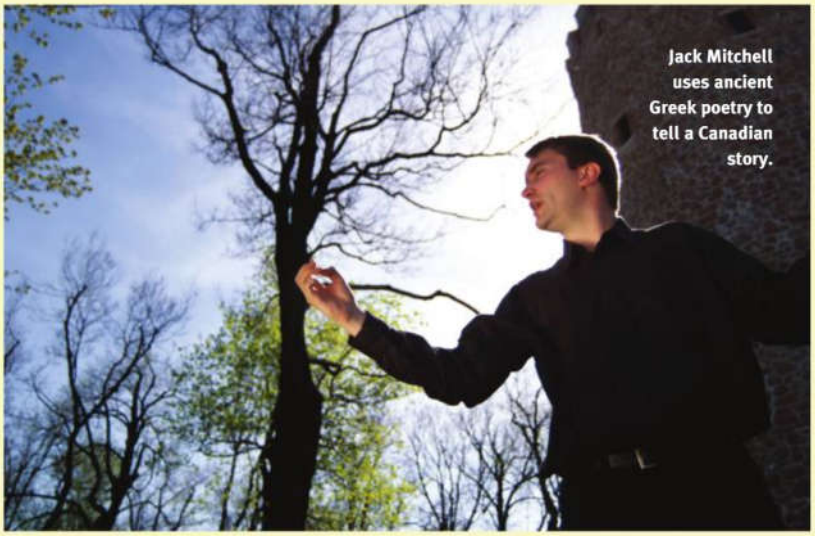
LIVING HISTORY

Poet

Greek mythology and Canadian history? Believe it or not, there are some interesting connections between the two. So says Jack Mitchell, a Ph.D. candidate in classics at Stanford University, who has composed a seven-hundred-line, Homeric-style poem about the battle on the Plains of Abraham. Like the ancient siege of Troy, Quebec's pivotal battle happened long ago (though clearly not as long ago as the Greek brawl), encompassed a long list of incidents, and, perhaps most dramatically, involved the two main characters dying tragic deaths. (Homer's Achilles and Hector died at Troy; Wolfe and Montcalm perished on the Plains of Abraham.)

Mitchell, who was born in Sackville, New Brunswick, and grew up in Ottawa, has always been fascinated by the genre of the epic poem. In fact, at fourteen, he wrote his own short epic about a Napoleonic battle. Later, in university, Mitchell's exposure to the classics piqued his interest in creating poetry. But what would he write about?

Mitchell shied away from writing about his own life: "I wanted a grand theme." He says he chose the siege of Quebec in a flash, seeing it as the one truly mythological event in Canadian history. "I was sensitive, of course, that it's still a very important part of the francophone consciousness, but in a way, that was all for the better – there was no denying its relevance." And like a good epic, the story of the French-British battle (which ended in a British victory and ultimately the demise loss of New France) is larger than life, says Mitchell, and a true tale of the past.



Jack Mitchell uses ancient Greek poetry to tell a Canadian story.

PHOTO FOR THE BEAVER BY CHRISTIAN FLEURY

Mitchell conducted much research to write the epic, and after some experimenting, decided on iambic octameter for the line of verse: "I wanted a line that was of a weight equal to the dactylic hexameter – Homer's meter." Dressed in black, with wooden staff in hand, Mitchell has performed *The Plains of Abraham* for many school groups, community groups, and general audiences across Canada since 2000. He created his epic for performance to give spectators a chance to embrace history. "The idea is to inject the past into the present in a way that can't be denied," explains Mitchell. "While I'm performing, the book of history can't be shut – the channel can't be changed."

For more information, visit <www.plainsofabraham.ca>.

RESTORATION

Lizzie

It was one of the many pieces of the great Allied sword that had, quite literally, become a plowshare. The aircraft, which had sat for decades in a field, was bought as war surplus in the late 1940s and used for spare parts at a local farm in rural Saskatchewan. This was the fate of *Lysander*, RCAF aircraft no. 2363, before it was retrieved and work began at the Canadian Warplane Heritage Museum in Hamilton, Ontario, to bring it back to life.

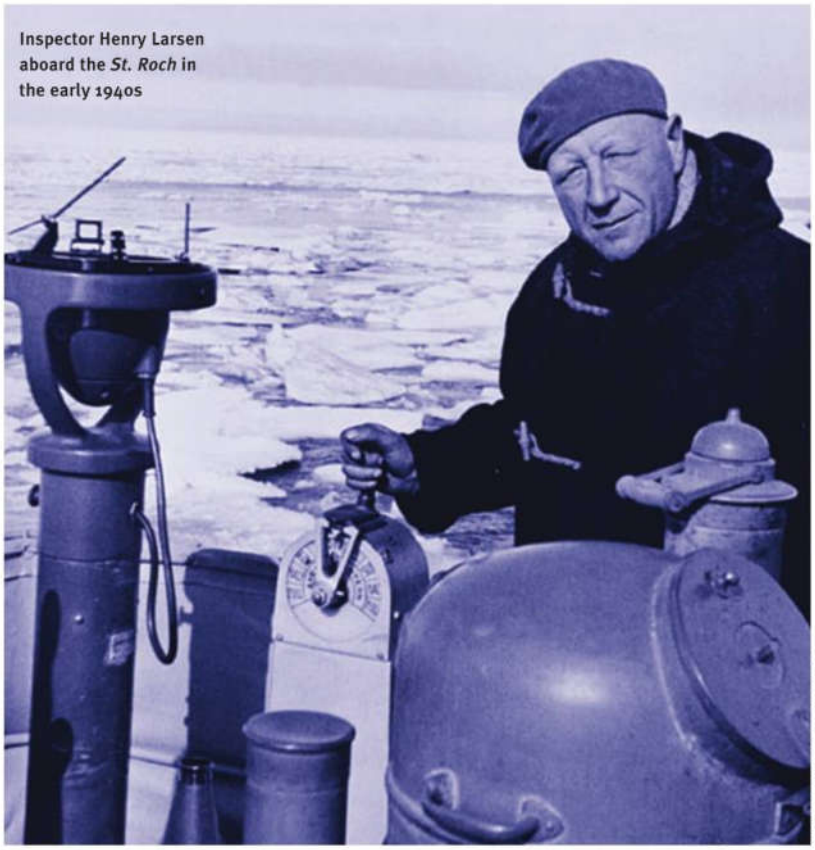
The CWHM is a wonderful, curving, delta shaped facility dedicated to celebrating many aspects of Canadian aviation from World War I to the present. Part museum, part hangar, and part workshop, the CWHM allows visitors the opportunity to view its historic aircraft collection up close as well as watch them fly.

Originally built in 1942 in Toronto, the *Lysander* had served in the British Commonwealth Air Training Program in western Canada. The aircraft, or "Lizzie" to its aircrew, was one of the first "stealth" aircraft used in wartime. Its unique wing structure allowed the aircraft to take off and land in remarkably short distances, making the *Lysander* ideal for duties like dropping off spies in occupied France or rescuing downed allied aircrew.

Upon transfer to the CWHM in the mid 1990s, every part of the *Lysander* was documented, thoroughly inspected, cleaned, tested, and aircraft certified, to insure compliance with the strict guidelines set by the Canadian Ministry of Transport. Now the aim of the reconstruction team is to use as much of the original airframe as possible, although some parts have been obtained from other museums in the United States and England.

As work finishes on the *Lysander* next year, the decade-long dream of getting "Lizzie" airborne again should finally be realized.

–Robert Teteruck



Inspector Henry Larsen aboard the *St. Roch* in the early 1940s

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/C-70772

COMMEMORATION

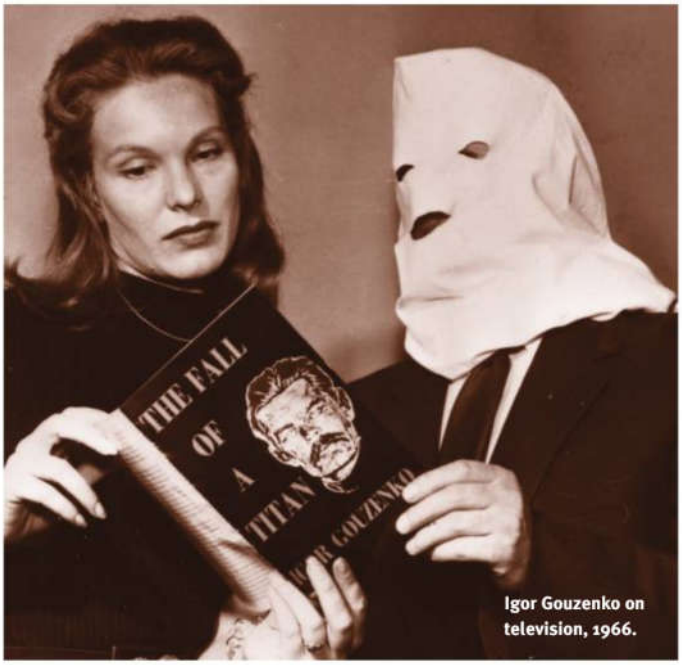
Big ship, big statue

The tiny wooden RCMP schooner *St. Roch* garnered a number of firsts in its time – first vessel to navigate the Northwest Passage from west to east (1940–1942), first to make the passage in both directions (1944), first to circumnavigate North America (1950). Little wonder that in 1962 the federal government declared the *St. Roch*, currently in dry dock at the Vancouver Maritime Museum, a national historic site. Now comes renewed effort to honour the man who helmed the ship throughout these groundbreaking (well, icebreaking) adventures – Henry Asbjörn Larsen. Norwegian-born, Larsen was inspired to explore the Arctic by his countryman Roald Amundsen, the first, between 1903 and 1906, to traverse the Northwest Passage. Shortly after joining the RCMP, Larsen was assigned to the *St. Roch*, which made her maiden voyage to western Arctic in 1928. Before long he was skipper. The Inuit called Larsen, who patrolled the Arctic for the next two decades and often wintered over, "Hanorie Umiarjuag" (Henry with the Big Ship). When he retired, the self-effacing Larsen was happy with the honours and medals he received for his achievements, but others have wanted to do more. In the 1940s, a Larsen statue campaign was unsuccessful. Today a renewed campaign is calling for a statue of Larsen, not on a pedestal but – interestingly – on the deck of the *St. Roch* itself. Salt Spring Island sculptor Simon Morris has been commissioned to create a life-sized sculpture of Larsen in the act of lowering his sextant after taking a sighting. The Henry Larsen Statue Committee hopes to wrap up the $100,000 fundraising campaign by the end of the year.

MOMENT

September 5, 1945: Gouzenko defects

At 8:30 in the evening, Igor Sergeievich Gouzenko leaves the Soviet Embassy at 285 Charlotte Street in Ottawa carrying with him 109 top-secret documents. World War II has ended three weeks earlier, but a new struggle for international domination is about to begin. Frightened for his life as he walks to the *Ottawa Journal*, and frightened further as he fails to connect with journalists unable to understand his broken English, the twenty-six-year-old cipher clerk has, by his bold betrayal, unwittingly launched a Cold War that will consume the competitive energies of the West and the Soviet Union for the next four decades.



Igor Gouzenko on television, 1966.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA PA-129635 / THE MONTREAL STAR

The Soviet Union was without an embassy in Canada until Hitler's invasion of the USSR in June 1941 allied the two countries. A year later, diplomatic relations – broken in the wake of the 1917 October Revolution that brought Communists to power in Russia – were resumed. In the atmosphere of wartime common-cause, Canadian authorities convinced themselves that the new Soviet mission in Ottawa would not engage in surreptitious intelligence-gathering activities. They were wrong. The Soviets immediately seized the opportunity to build a solid North American base for an espionage network. Wartime had generated new production in advanced munitions, intense activity in scientific research into radar, high explosives, and the atomic bomb, and great concentration on code-breaking and intelligence analysis. All of this was attractive to the Soviets.

Igor Gouzenko, who arrived in Canada in 1943, spent two years at the Soviet embassy handling the coding and decoding of transmissions between Ottawa and Moscow, amid secret files, notes, and memoranda. During that time, surrounded by Canadian plenty, he grew disenchanted with Soviet privations and politics, and when in 1945 he learned that he was to be sent back to the USSR, he decided to defect. The highly sensitive documents he took away with him September 5 revealed Soviet espionage activities in Canada, the U.S, and the U.K., including attempts to discover the secret to the atomic bomb, which had exploded only a month before in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

At first, no one took Gouzenko seriously. After being turned away at the *Journal*, he went to the Department of Justice on Wellington Street: however, all senior staff had left for the day hours before. Only on September 7, following an abortive Soviet attempt to recapture him, did he and his family receive protective custody. His evidence led to the arrest of twelve Soviet spies, to a royal commission on espionage in Canada, and to a reversal in public attitudes in the West toward its wartime ally. The Soviet Union became the official enemy.

Gouzenko was given a new identity, and spent the rest of his life near Toronto under police protection. He wrote two books – a memoir and a novel, and he occasionally appeared on television, where Canadians came to know him only as a man with a white cloth draped over this head. He died in 1982.

Take the day off

August 19: To celebrate Jean François Gravelet, the great Blondin's 1859 crossing of Niagara Falls on a tightrope with his manager on his back. Sing: "He ain't heavy, he's my ..."

August 31: To note the Conseil Souverain's order in 1674 for all beggars to leave New France. Consider a world before squeegees.

September 26: To observe the founding in 1826 of Bytown, later to become Ottawa, capital of Canada. Discuss former minister of transport Jean Marchand's 1972 quip that "the best thing about Ottawa is the train to Montreal."

September 22: To mark the passage in the House of Commons seventy-five years ago of the Unemployment Relief Act, designed to help provide jobs for Canadians impoverished in the Great Depression. Sign on.

COUNTY OF GRANDE PRAIRIE FONDS, SOUTH PEACE REGIONAL ARCHIVES.

PAPER TRAIL

Back to school

Juggling dozens of students in seven different grades, trying to teach them nine different subjects, must have required careful planning, strict organization, and a great deal of energy. Such was the case for the busy one-room schoolteacher who created this daily timetable in the south Peace River country of northern Alberta, circa 1940. After five minutes of opening exercises, she taught grades one and two arithmetic for ten minutes, then the middle grades, and then moved to the junior high students to teach mathematics. By 9:35, she was back to grades one and two for language instruction, and so on. A dizzying schedule.

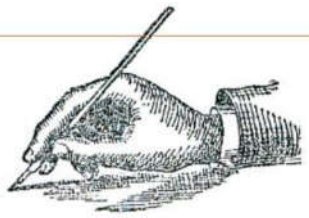
One-room schools were common in the settlement period of western Canada, and lasted well into the 1950s and '60s in the rural areas of northern Alberta. In the 1940s, teachers were often just eighteen years old, having completed a year's training in normal school and living on their own for the first time. The subjects they taught stretched beyond reading, writing, and arithmetic; health education, music, art, dramatics, and choral speech were included in the educational repertoire. Enterprise work, yet another school subject, encouraged learning through play and physical experience: for example, the stories of Little Red Riding Hood and Peter Rabbit were portrayed not only through reading, but also through dramatization, artwork, and sewing.

Classrooms of the time often had about forty children vying for their teacher's attention, some of them immigrants who couldn't speak English. Judging by the ambitious agenda of this Alberta schoolteacher, her students likely had a good grasp of the English language. Nonetheless, the workload was heavy; recess must have been a highlight for both student and teacher.

Our thanks to Mary Nutting, archivist at the South Peace Regional Archives, who provided the document and information.

OLDWAYS

How to Learn to Write, or Become an Excellent Penman



Good Copies – When you practice, study the copy, see its harmony, and you will discover more of its beauty and find greater inspiration and interest in practicing.

Material – Have good paper. Do not buy a lot of cheap trash because it is cheap, but procure a good quantity and quality of paper and plenty of good steel pens.

Gold Pens – Do not use gold pens while practicing. While learning to write always use a steel pen. Gold pens are very good after a good hand has been mastered.

The Correct Position – When writing sit at the desk or table in a position that is perfectly convenient and comfortable. Sit so that no portion of the body is cramped, and let the arm rest easily upon the table or desk. Do not sit with the feet upon the rounds of the chair. Keep your feet firmly upon the floor.

How to Hold the Pen – Hold the pen so that the holder points over the right shoulder, and do not let the penholder drop below the knuckle joint of the forefinger.

Movements – Finger movement is the combined action of the first and second fingers and thumb. Forearm movement is the action of the forearm sliding the hand on the nails of the third and fourth finger. Combined movement is that which is most used in business penmanship. It is a union of the forearm with the finger movement, and possesses great advantage over the other movements in the greater rapidity and ease with which it is employed. Whole-arm movement is the action of the whole arm from the shoulder with the elbow slightly raised and the hand sliding on the nails of the third and fourth fingers, and is used with facility in striking capital letters and in off-hand flourishing.

Practice – In learning to write there are three essential things. The first is PRACTICE; the second is PRACTICE; the third is PRACTICE; and the student who carries out these three things will master an excellent handwriting.

Careless Scribbling – Careless scribbling tends rather to retard than to improve the writing. Each time a copy has been carelessly repeated it is an injury rather than a benefit; a going backward instead of going forward. When practicing every stroke should mean something and be an effort to improve.

How to Practice – There are various movement exercises that are a help in limbering up a stiff and awkward arm and hand. We have given some in the following pages, but it is good practice to take a single letter, study its different styles and practice it until improvement is evident. Exercises made of small letters and joining them together in a running exercise is an excellent practice.

The Safe Rule – Everlastingly keep at it.

From the Archives of Ontario, Library Collection. *The Farmers' manual and complete accountant* [...]. Edited by J.L Nichols. J.L. Nichols and Co., 1894.
Our thanks to James Gorton of the Archives of Ontario for providing this document.

William Neville on

The Royal Role

Events in Ottawa in the spring of 2005 were a reminder that the office of governor general is still, potentially, one of some constitutional significance. Yet the office of governor general, so far as people think of it at all, is generally understood as a figurehead role, replete with many of the symbolic and ceremonial duties associated with the monarchy, from which it derives. "The Queen's Representative" is how the office has long been styled, but just as the Queen's constitutional role is not always fully understood, the same may be said of the office of governor general.

This is not to suggest that the symbolic and ceremonial functions are of no consequence. They are dimensions of identity and, in Canada, their evolution over the last fifty years has paralleled the evolution of the country in which the commemoration and celebration of our history, people, achievements, and events have gradually reshaped our national consciousness. Every governor general since the appointment of the first Canadian to the office in 1952 has emphasized that the office is a Canadian institution, and many have seen it as a means of advancing Canadians' awareness and understanding of the country. Among them, it is beyond dispute that Adrienne Clarkson has significantly increased its visibility, and redefined its domestic role to encompass a clear and explicit commitment to enlarging Canadians' understanding of their country and of one another. With her substantial impact on the office, probably gone forever is the older, conventional picture of a rather remote and isolated figure arriving on Parliament Hill, with appropriate pomp in a horse-drawn landau, to read the Speech from the Throne and, thereafter, to retreat into a kind of gilded obscurity until the next time.

As Canada's de facto head of state, Adrienne Clarkson discharged her public role so visibly and with such panache, that one might guess that more Canadians are aware of the office, in its symbolic and public dimensions, than has been the case for a very long time. Having moved the office towards greater intelligibility, it is hard to imagine that future governors general, given the opportunity, will be content to do any less. To speak of future governors general being "given the opportunity" to approach the office in any particular way, brings one back to the fact that the office also has an official and constitutional dimension within which its role is significantly constrained and which, for the most part, is not played out in public. That role is limited and defined largely by the conventions of constitutional monarchy on the one side and the norms of liberal democracy on the other. The ambivalence may be conveyed in the adage that the Queen reigns but does not rule. The office's constitutional role and powers are now governed largely by convention and precedent. Given that such so-called "reserve powers," as are vested in the Crown, are not typically exercised in public, defining their nature may be as much an art as it is a science.

In the 1860s, Walter Bagehot, in his classic essays published as *The English Constitution*, famously wrote, "To state the matter shortly, the sovereign has, under a constitutional monarchy such as ours, three rights – the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn. And a king of great sense and sagacity would want no others." A governor general has, and presumably exercises, the same rights, but most authorities agree that there are circumstances in which the powers of the Crown may go beyond Bagehot's list. The premise of any such assertion is that there may be circumstances – both rare and unusual – where the residual power of the office could be the only thing that protects and preserves the conventions of our parliamentary system and of Responsible Government.

The famous King-Byng constitutional crisis provides the classic illustration. In

Viscount Byng of Vimy, governor general of Canada from 1921 to 1926.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C 33995

the election of 1921, Mackenzie King and the Liberal Party won the most seats but were just a seat or two short of a majority. Being so close and having the support of another party, they carried on for four years. However, the general election of October 29, 1925, produced another minority Parliament, and reduced the Liberals to second place. King declared they had three options: to resign immediately, to advise another "immediate dissolution" of parliament, or to test the will of the new House. His second "option," though spurious, was not immediately attempted since King decided, quite legitimately, to meet the House where, initially, he was able to carry on. In June, however, facing a virtually certain vote of censure, King went to the governor general, Viscount Byng, and requested another dissolution.

Given that only eight months had passed since the previous election, and given that King no longer led the largest party in the House, Byng suggested that before he would agree to dissolution, he wished to ascertain whether the formation of another government might be possible without recourse to another election. Rather than agree to that course, King resigned. Byng sent for Arthur Meighen, the leader of the Conservative opposition who, after consideration, advised that he thought he would be able to form a government. He did; it lasted but a short time until it was defeated, and then Meighen was granted a dissolution. In the ensuing election, King raised the patently phony issue of the governor general taking his orders from Downing Street and, winning the election, claimed vindication.

It was a Pyrrhic victory. In the Imperial Conference later that year it was agreed that the relations between a governor general and his ministers were "in all essential respects" the same as between the king and his ministers. In Britain, then and now, the power of the king to refuse a request for dissolution is very clear. If neither the monarch nor the governor general had the power to refuse a dissolution to a sitting prime minister, a bizarre situation would exist in which a prime minister could subject the electorate to a series of elections – and minority governments – until, as Eugene Forsey once wrote, "the voters got their sums right" and the prime minister got the result he wanted.

In May 2005 another minority government found itself in a nearly unprecedented parliamentary situation. Paul Martin's government, declining to interpret defeat on a procedural motion as constituting "non-confidence," then saw the opposition shut down the House on three successive occasions. Whether or not "confidence" had been formally lost, the string of procedural defeats demonstrated clearly that the government did not command a majority in the House, a fundamental premise and principle of Responsible Government.

Although not a democratic institution itself, [the governor general's office] can, *in extremis*, be a protector of democracy in the face of abuse or misuse of constitutional power.

The prime minister promptly announced that a budget vote, late the following week, would be the real test as to whether his government retained the confidence of the House. The delay was highly unusual, prompting the larger opposition parties and some media commentators to urge some sort of action or intervention by the Governor General. Since the Governor General acts only on the advice of the prime minister, this external advice, though significant, could not be decisive or definitive. However, it is inconceivable that the Governor General and the prime minister would not have been engaged in ongoing discussions during this period and, indeed, long before. These discussions, however they may have been couched, would surely have reflected the Crown's right to be informed (of what the prime minister proposed to do, and why and when), to warn (of the dangers of uncharted waters), and to encourage (the government to demonstrate, at the earliest possible moment, that it had the parliamentary authority to carry on). Whether or not the Governor General found Mr. Martin's reasons for delay compelling, she would have to have considered whether a week's delay was sufficient cause for her intervention with potentially explosive political consequences. Similarly, the prime minister would have to have understood that undue delay would put their two offices in conflict, with the potential for a serious constitutional crisis.

Those who support the notion of constitutional monarchy and, in the Canadian context, the office of governor general, do so for a variety of reasons: for reasons of sentiment and familiarity, or because in the Western Hemisphere, it is a unique political institution which speaks to a political and constitutional evolution which is also unique, in a sea of republics with revolutionary traditions. Yet its real value constitutionally may be that, although not a democratic institution itself, [the governor general's office] can, *in extremis*, be a protector of democracy in the face of abuse or misuse of constitutional power by the politicians of the moment. As with much in our constitutional evolution, this is a delicious irony.

During the apprehended "crisis" of May 2005, some suggested that the office of governor general should be re-examined as to its powers and manner of appointment. This could be useful. Indeed, an appointment process that involved consultations with the opposition leaders could enhance the legitimacy of the office without politicizing it in partisan terms – which would do the opposite. However, trying to spell out the powers precisely (so as to anticipate every possible circumstance for their use) might paralyze the office when most needed, while a broader and more general grant of powers might, unwittingly, turn the office into something more powerful than anyone intended. This, of course, would be an irony more delicious still.

William Neville is a regular columnist for the *Winnipeg Free Press* and is a former head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Manitoba.

HISTORY™
TELEVISION
HistoryTelevision.ca

Programming Highlights

Fact & Film
Sundays at 8 pm ET

From **Top Gun** to **Taxi Driver**, History Television puts forward the facts and offers the interpretations. The network's new programming block, **Fact & Film**, features a documentary that examines a world event or contemporary story and pairs it with a blockbuster film inspired by the same event. With her unique insights and witty commentary, **History on Film** host Anne Medina will introduce each film and documentary.

Victory in Japan Remembered
August 13 - 20 beginning at 8 pm ET

On August 15th 1945, Japan's surrender ended six years of fighting. To commemorate the 60th anniversary of Victory in Japan, History Television presents a special week of programming about the decisive events that helped bring an end to the Second World War, including **Kamikaze in Colour** and **The Thin Red Line**.

Over There
Premiering September 6 at 9pm ET/PT

This ensemble drama from FX, created by Steven Bochco (NYPD Blue, Hillstreet Blues), follows members of an Army unit sent to Iraq on their first tour of duty and looks at the effects of war on the soldiers' families at home. Stars Nicki Lynn Aycox (Cold Case, Ed), Lombardo Boyar (Rocket Power), Lizette Carion (The Big Time), Sticky Fingaz (Platinum) and Sprague Grayden (Joan of Arcadia, Six Feet Under).

Band of Brothers
Coming this fall

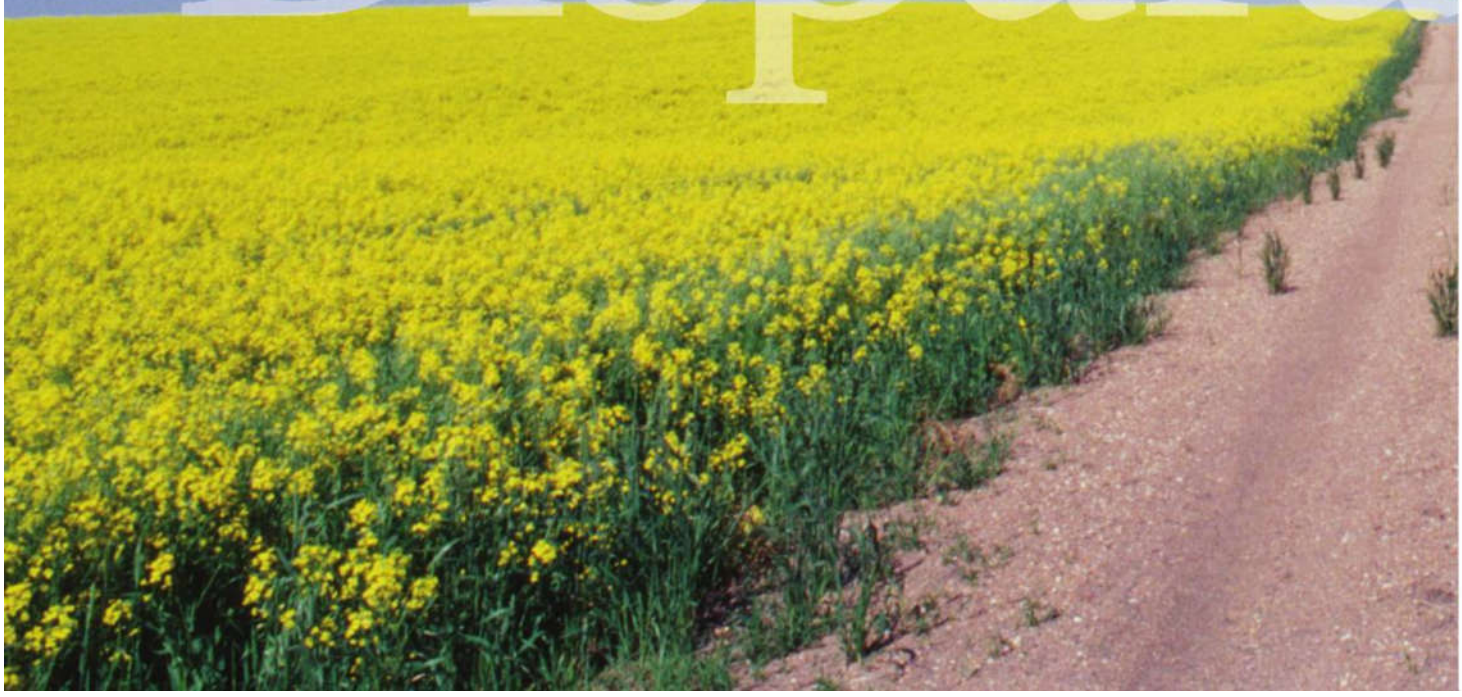
Tom Hanks and Steven Spielberg present the epic miniseries that chronicles the experiences of Easy Company, an elite rifle company that parachuted into France early D-Day morning. This award-winning series tells the story of a group of young men who knew extraordinary bravery and whose lives became legend.

ALLIANCE ATLANTIS
10 YEARS AS A BROADCASTER

Alberta & Saskatchewan: **100** years

Born as twins in 1905, Alberta and Saskatchewan ideologies, and nature's lottery

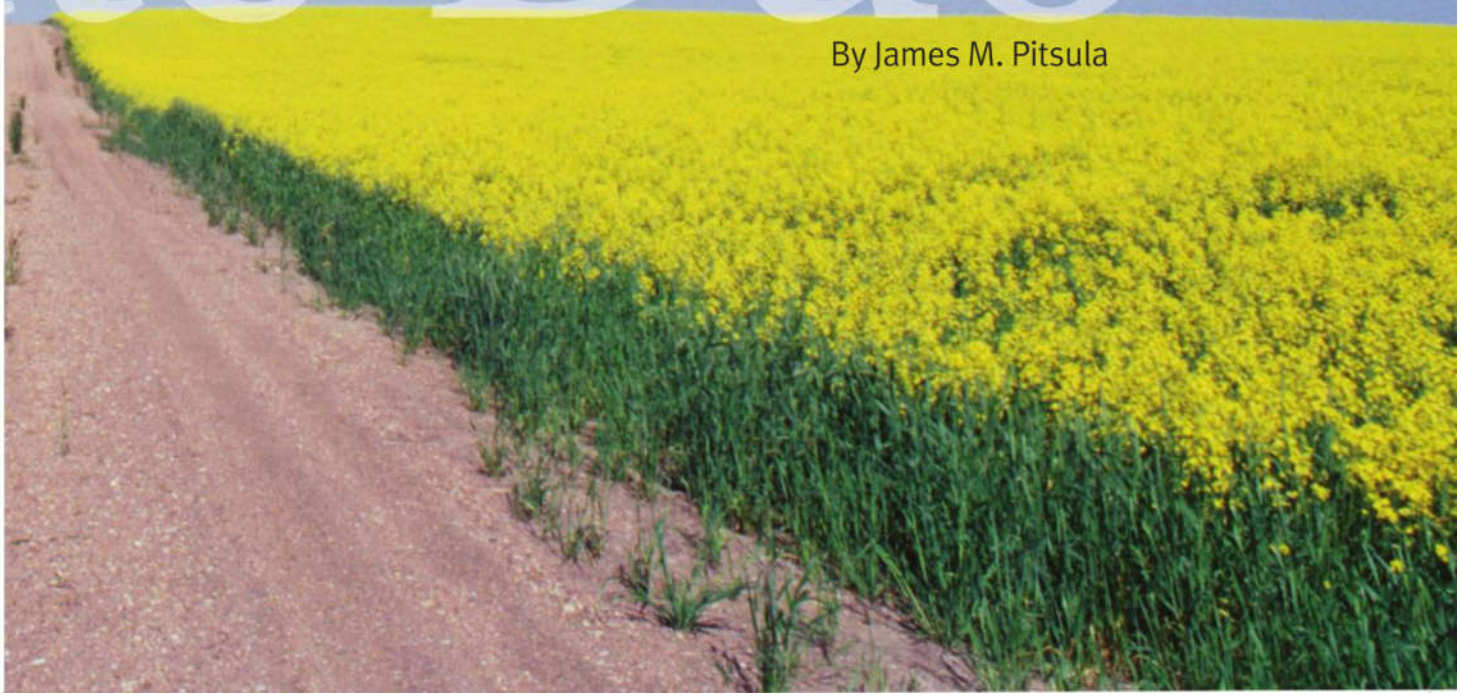
Dispara



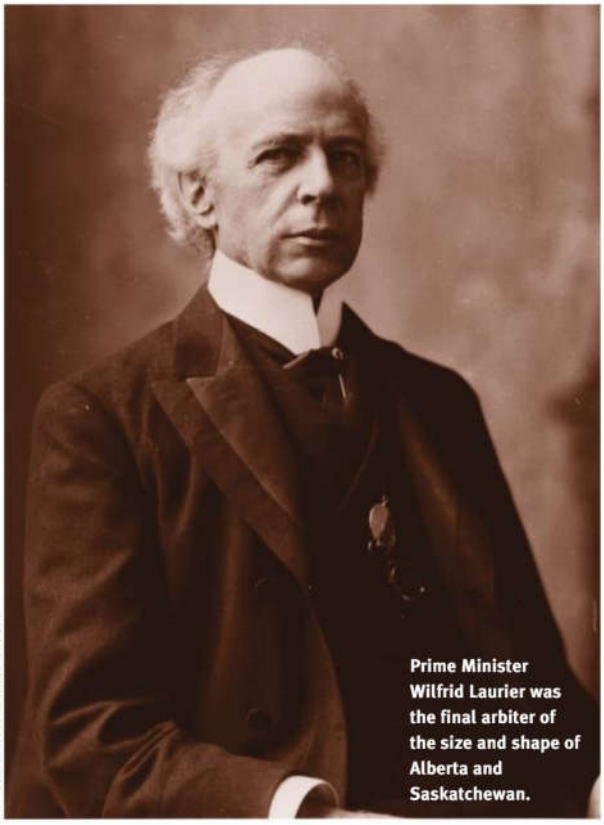
grew apart. Single-minded visionaries, hardening
helped turn the two provinces into a

te Duo

By James M. Pitsula



In 1901 Frederick Haultain, premier of the North-West Territories, proposed the formation of a single province comprising the area between Manitoba and British Columbia. The Canadian government countered with a bill to create two new provinces of approximately equal size and population. Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier argued that the territories were too large for one province and that Alberta would not accept rule from Regina, which had served as the territorial capital since 1882. Nor did Ontario and Quebec look favourably upon the emergence of a single, large western province to challenge their own domination of the federal parliament. The two-province solution prevailed, and Alberta and Saskatchewan officially came into existence in September 1905.



Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier was the final arbiter of the size and shape of Alberta and Saskatchewan.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA15998

One hundred years later, picnics, parades, and pageants mark the anniversaries. Such commemorations allow communities to define themselves and express their core values, to reflect on hardships overcome, progress achieved, and bright prospects that lie ahead. They celebrate not the past itself, but rather a *usable* past, one that instills pride in the present and hope for the future. At a deeper level, the Alberta and Saskatchewan anniversaries raise the question: how did two provinces that started out so much alike become so different from one another? Alberta today is the heartland of free enterprise and low taxes, Saskatchewan, the symbol of medicare and Crown corporations. James Blanchard, former U.S. ambassador to Canada, quotes a description of Calgary: "It's just like Texas, only less anti-American." No one would ever say that about Regina. Each province, in constructing its own identity, has helped determine what it means to be a Canadian. We all have a piece of Alberta and a little bit of Saskatchewan in us.

The "last, best West" in the late 1890s and early 1900s was the destination of hundreds of thousands of homesteaders seeking a better life. Both provinces boomed, Alberta's population increasing from 73,000 in 1901 to 374,000 in 1911 and Saskatchewan's from 91,000 to 492,000. The arrival of large numbers of non-English-speaking immigrants spurred efforts to assimilate the newcomers to British Canadian culture and values. While both provinces were ethnically diverse, the mix was somewhat different. Since Alberta was settled last, it benefited disproportionately from later waves of American settlers who moved north to take advantage of cheaper Canadian land prices. In Alberta in the 1920s, settlers from the United States outnumbered Britons in rural areas by a ratio of two to one. In Saskatchewan, by contrast, Britons slightly outnumbered Americans. Also, the majority of ex-Americans in Alberta were of Anglo-Saxon origin, whereas in Saskatchewan they tended to be non-Anglo-Saxons, such as Germans and Scandinavians. Given the ethnic prejudices of the time, this meant that the Americans in Alberta were more likely than their Saskatchewan counterparts to assume leadership positions and influence the direction of society.

In the 1905 provincial elections, Liberals won 23 of 25 seats in Alberta and 16 of 25 in Saskatchewan. The two administrations adopted similar policies on key issues. The Alberta government accused the Bell Telephone Company of failing to provide adequate service to rural customers. It bought out Bell in 1907 and established Alberta Government Telephones. The Saskatchewan government did the same thing in 1909, except in Saskatchewan, the government owned only the long-distance lines and left local service to small companies organized at the municipal level. Premier Walter Scott preferred government assistance to outright ownership because he thought enterprises worked better if citi-

1905

On July 18, the Canadian government passes the Dominion Act, which creates the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, effective September 1. Edmonton and Regina are named as capital cities, respectively.

1906

The Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association is formed to represent the interests of Saskatchewan farmers and advocate for reform of the grain handling and marketing systems.

For a period in the late nineteenth century until 1905, a map of western Canada would have looked like this one. With the advent of the railways, immigration into the North-West Territories intensified, and the Government of Canada, which had taken ownership of the vast territory in 1880 from the Hudson's Bay Company, divided it into provisional districts for administrative and postal purposes – the District of Keewatin (northeast of Manitoba on this map) in 1876; Athabasca, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Assiniboia in 1882. Unlike eastern Canada, where boundaries often followed natural features, boundaries in western Canada were almost invariably straight lines, based on the Dominion Lands Survey system intended to assist settlement. In 1905, with much of the area south of the 60th parallel deemed populous enough for provincial responsibility, debate arose over the next carving of the territory. A single province was nixed, as were two provinces along a line of longitude. The result was two approximately equal provinces, latitudinally separated: Saskatchewan and Alberta.

zens had a stake in running them. Another example was the Saskatchewan Cooperative Elevator Company created in 1911. Despite pressure from farm groups for direct government involvement in the grain handling business, the Scott government opted to loan money to a farmer-owned elevator company. Alberta premier Arthur Sifton adopted the same policy in 1913. Both provinces passed legislation in 1909 to provide bond guarantees to railway companies for the construction of branch lines, alleviating the concerns of farmers who had trouble getting their crops to market.

The social policies of Alberta and Saskatchewan also ran along parallel tracks. Both provinces responded with patriotic enthusiasm to the outbreak of the First World War and shared in the resultant economic expansion. The price of wheat tripled and acreage seeded doubled. The wartime spirit of sacrifice intensified social reform movements that had predated the war and now came to fruition. Alberta voted in a referendum in July 1915 to prohibit the sale of alcohol, and Saskatchewan followed suit in December 1916. Saskatchewan women won the right to vote in March 1916, Alberta women one month later.

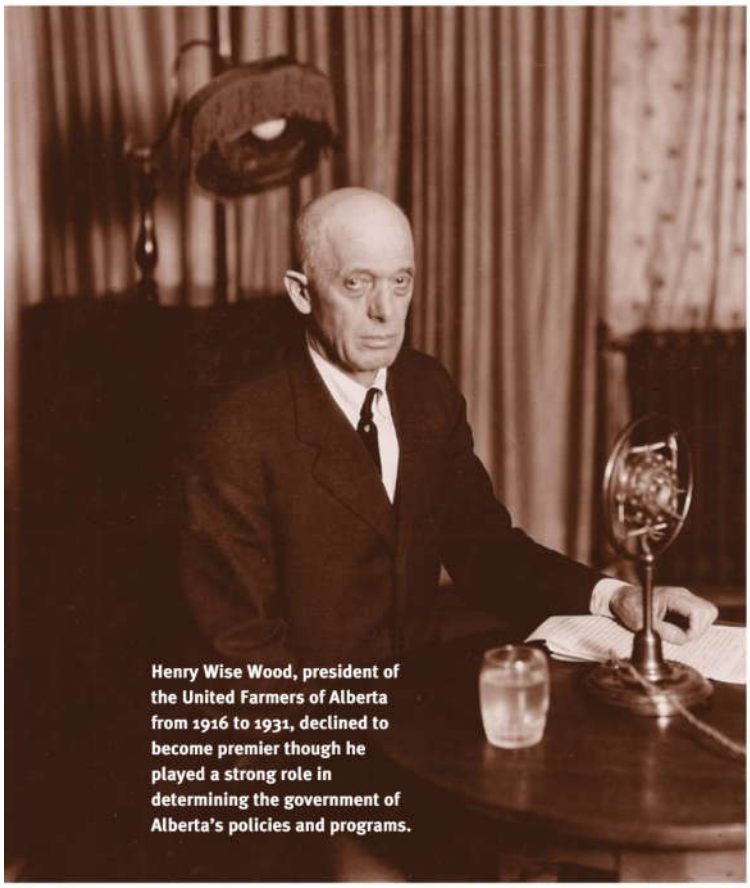
The war also brought the agrarian protest movement to a new pitch. Western farmers had long considered themselves the vic-

1909

United Farmers of Alberta is founded to advocate for the interests and welfare of farmers. A cooperative, it would emerge as a powerful political force, forming the government between 1921 and 1935.

1911

The cooperatively owned Saskatchewan Cooperative Elevator Company is founded by 2,565 farmer shareholders.



Henry Wise Wood, president of the United Farmers of Alberta from 1916 to 1931, declined to become premier though he played a strong role in determining the government of Alberta's policies and programs.

GLENBOW ARCHIVES / NB-16-247

tims of powerful corporations – grain companies, banks, and railways – all based in central Canada. They believed that Ontario and Quebec called the tune, which translated into high tariffs designed to protect central Canadian manufacturers at the expense of Western commodity producers. During the war farmers felt doubly betrayed. The federal government first promised to exempt their sons from compulsory military service, then cancelled the exemption. It imposed a ceiling on wheat prices when they were high, but removed the floor when they were low. The farmers' pent-up frustration led to the formation of the Progressive Party, which sent sixty-four members of Parliament to Ottawa in the 1921 general election.

As agrarian protest came to a peak, Alberta and Saskatchewan began to part company. Alberta farmers followed the lead of Missouri-born Henry Wise Wood, who promoted the radical concept of "group government." Wood rejected not only the Liberal and Conservative parties, but also the party system itself. Believing that parties were bought and paid for by big corporations, he urged farmers to enter politics as an economic class. He encouraged other occupational groups, such as organized labour and professionals, to do the same. Then all the groups would come together to pass laws for the benefit of the whole community. Attacked for advocating "Soviet" doctrines of class government that were alien to British traditions, Wood replied that he was only advising farmers to do what big business had already done, namely, organize to protect their class interests.

Henry Wise Wood was not just another farm leader demanding higher wheat prices and lower freight rates. He was a visionary and a prophet. He described the United Farmers of Alberta, which he served as president from 1916 to 1931, as "the child of my heart and the hope of my life." It embodied for him the ethical principle that "cooperation should infuse all human relations." His philosophy was popular in Alberta partly because Americans formed a large proportion of the population. They had no particular attachment to British parliamentary traditions and were willing to consider alternatives based on grassroots democracy. In addition, with Alberta being the last province to be settled, its farmers carried the largest debt loads and paid the highest transportation costs. They were ready for radical change.

Largely because of Henry Wise Wood, the UFA stayed clear of the old-line parties. Although group government as Wood envisaged it remained an unfulfilled ideal, the UFA was able to form a government in Alberta in 1921 and hold office until 1935. When federal Progressives were lured back into the Liberal party (Prime Minister Mackenzie King called them "Liberals in a hurry"), Alberta MPs adhered firmly to their UFA beliefs. Wood kept up his campaign for democratic reforms, calling for free votes in Parliament, election of senators, fixed election dates, and the use of referendum and recall – ideas that were later picked up by Preston Manning's Reform Party and its successors.

Unlike the UFA, the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association worked with the provincial Liberals and kept them in office until 1929, when a Conservative-led coalition was elected for a term. The late 1920s were golden years for Saskatchewan. The government boasted in 1927 that the province was first among the provinces in per capita wealth, first in the production of wheat, oats, rye, and flax, and first in horse breeding, commercial clay deposits, and sodium sulphate reserves. Saskatchewan with 921,785 people in 1931 ranked third among the provinces in pop-

1911

As a result of an influx of immigrants attracted by western homesteads, population in both provinces increases more than fivefold from 1901: Alberta to 374,000 from 73,000, Saskatchewan to 492,000 from 91,000.

1915

Alberta prohibits the sale of alcohol; Saskatchewan goes dry the following year.

1916

Women in both Alberta and Saskatchewan obtain the right to vote in municipal and provincial elections.

ulation, behind only Ontario and Quebec. Alberta trailed with 731,605.

The 1930s Depression hit Alberta hard and Saskatchewan even harder. Per capita money income in Alberta in 1933 was 37.6 percent of what it had been in 1928. In Saskatchewan it was 25.7 percent. Relief expenditures in Saskatchewan in 1937 exceeded $40 million, dwarfing the entire 1939 provincial budget of $23 million. The situation was so bad that the government had to impose a new 2 percent sales tax to cover the promissory notes that had been given to teachers in lieu of salaries.

It is surprising how at the bottom of a political problem, some theology can often be found. Such was the case in the 1930s. In both Alberta and Saskatchewan preachers-turned-politicians appeared on the scene to lead the people out of the wilderness, but with markedly different results. William (Bible Bill) Aberhart, a high-school principal, attended Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches before establishing his own Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute. (Unfriendly critics dubbed it the "Calgary Pathetic Bible Substitute.") In 1925 he began broadcasting religious programs over CFCN, a radio station with a powerful signal that covered all of Alberta as well as parts of the neighbouring provinces of British Columbia and Saskatchewan. His audience on Sunday afternoons numbered 300,000, more than tuned in to hear Jack Benny's comedy program. A farm boy from Rosetown, Saskatchewan, heard Aberhart on the radio and was inspired to enroll at the Bible Institute. He lived with the Aberharts, who

GLENBOW ARCHIVES / NA-3-6748

Destitute family in Edmonton, Alberta, return to Saskatoon from the Peace River country.

1920

The Progressive Party is founded by Thomas Crerar with the support of prairie farm groups, to support free trade, direct democracy, and the cooperative movement. The following year, it sends sixty-four members to Parliament.

1929

The stock market crashes, ushering in the Great Depression. A glut of wheat on the world market causes devastation for prairie farmers.

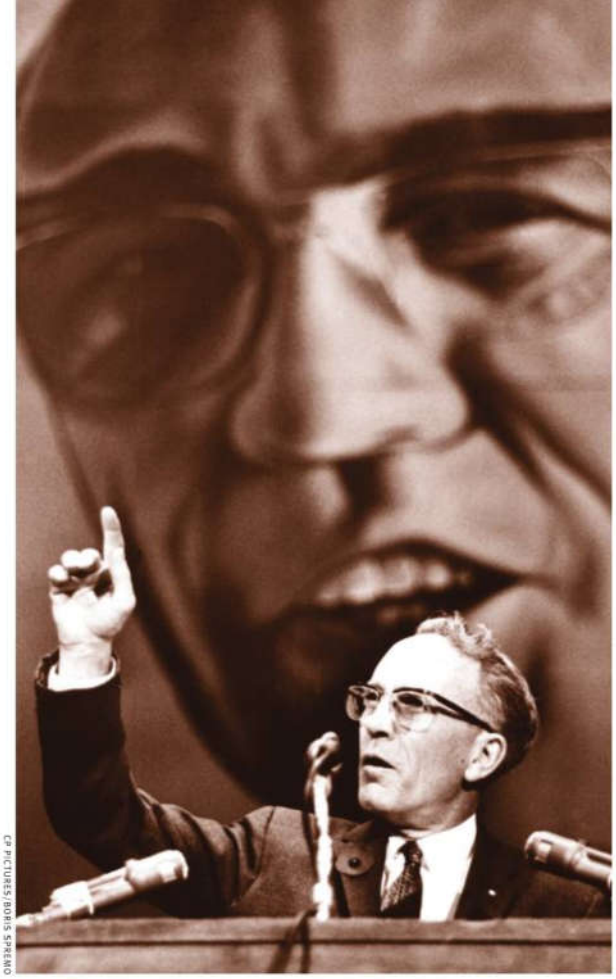
At the bottom of a political problem, some theology can often be found. Such was the case in the 1930s.

treated him like a member of the family, the son they had never had. His name was Ernest Charles Manning, Aberhart's successor as premier of Alberta and father of Preston Manning.

The 1920s was a time of intense theological debate between fundamentalists and modernists. The controversy came to a head at the 1925 Scopes trial when a Tennessee teacher was convicted for teaching the theory of evolution in a public school. Aberhart sided wholeheartedly with the fundamentalists. For him it was "the Bible, the whole Bible and nothing but the Bible." He thought that liberal interpretations of Christian doctrine led to a "creedless church" that resembled a social action group more than a sacred institution. He was skeptical about the social gospel movement and its attempt "to build the Kingdom of God on earth." Social gospel reforms were as useless, he said, "as a farmer trying to purify a polluted well by painting the pump handle."

The Depression focused Aberhart's attention on politics. He noticed that some of his students were coming to school hungry because their parents could not afford to buy groceries. One of his most promising grade twelve graduates committed suicide after roaming hobo jungles in search of work. Aberhart travelled to Edmonton in the summer of 1932 to help with the grading of provincial high school examinations. A fellow teacher handed him a copy of Maurice Colborne's *Unemployment or War*, a simplified version of social credit, a monetary theory invented by Major Clifford H. Douglas. Aberhart took the book to his room in the University of Alberta student residence where he was staying and read it from cover to cover. The next morning, as bright sunshine flooded the campus, he gazed out the window, secure in the knowledge that he had discovered the cure for the economic depression.

Meanwhile, Thomas Clement (Tommy) Douglas, the son of an iron molder, enrolled in 1924 at Brandon College to study theology. The college was embroiled in a battle between fundamentalists and modernists. Harris Lachlan MacNeill, professor of Latin and Greek, had been charged with heresy, and although he was ultimately acquitted, the experience of the trial shook up



CP PICTURES/BORIS SPREMO

Tommy Douglas, premier of Saskatchewan from 1944 to 1961, pioneered social programs that were later implemented by others across Canada.

both the faculty and the students. MacNeill was Douglas's favourite teacher, the man, Douglas said, who taught him how to think. Upon graduating in 1930, the newly ordained minister accepted a call to Calvary Baptist Church in Weyburn, Saskatchewan, a city of 5,000 in the midst of the prairie dust bowl. He immediately became involved in assisting the unemployed and trying to improve the relief system. His sermons dealt with such topics as "Jesus and Capitalism" and "Jesus and War." He joined the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) whose manifesto, adopted in Regina in 1933, promised to eradicate capitalism and put in place a "full program of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth."

As Douglas moved from the social gospel to socialism, Aberhart made the transition from fundamentalism to social credit. He began to mix economics into his Bible broadcasts, gradually introducing his listeners to proposals for monetary reform. They responded eagerly, and before long social-credit study clubs

1935

The Social Credit party, led by William Aberhart, defeats Richard Reid's United Farmers of Alberta.

1944

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation sweeps into power in Saskatchewan, with Tommy Douglas as premier.

1947

Driller Vern Hunter strikes oil near Leduc, Alberta, setting off the Alberta oil boom.

sprang up all over the province. Aberhart created the *Man from Mars* series, a radio drama about a visitor from outer space who had come to earth to gather ideas about how to improve life on his home planet. The man from Mars soon came to the conclusion that earth was "the mental asylum of other planets." How else could one explain the paradox of "poverty in the midst of plenty?" Although Alberta had abundant natural resources, its citizens lacked the basic necessities of life. Goods for sale piled up on store shelves, but consumers did not have the wherewithal to buy them. Aberhart said there was not enough money in circulation because banks wanted to make profits at the expense of everybody else. He attacked the "fifty big shots" and "high muckymucks" and pledged to restore purchasing power by distributing a monthly twenty-five-dollar "social credit dividend" to every adult in Alberta.

In the 1935 election, the Social Credit Party won fifty-six of sixty-three seats. Aberhart became premier, though he did not bother to make a speech in the legislature for four years. He preferred to communicate directly with the people through his radio broadcasts. In 1937 his government finally introduced legislation to implement social credit, but the laws were immediately disallowed because they infringed on the federal government's power to regulate banks. Aberhart heard the news while he was giving a speech at a picnic near Edmonton. When he told the audience what had happened, they reacted angrily. Someone shouted, "Give me a gun!" The premier calmed the crowd: "No! No! None of that! This is not bloodshed!" Even so, Aberhart blamed the federal government for his inability to introduce social credit, and he rejected a Government of Canada offer of financial aid because it was contingent on federal supervision of Alberta's borrowing and budgeting practices. Aberhart allowed his province to default on interest payments to bondholders rather than accept dictation from Ottawa.

The CCF, on the other hand, supported a strong central government, which it considered necessary for the full implementation of the socialist program. Only the federal government had the capacity to plan the economy, nationalize industry and the banks, and build the welfare state. In the meantime, the provinces could take incremental steps to move the country in the desired direction. The Saskatchewan CCF, under the leadership of Tommy Douglas, took power in 1944 and launched a whirlwind of change. In its first term the government established three new departments (Social Welfare, Labour, and Cooperatives), passed a farm security act, and introduced the most prolabour trade union act in North America. Saskatchewan was the first province to allow civil servants to organize unions (1944), the first to enshrine a bill of rights prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, colour, or creed (1947), the first to implement compulsory government automobile insurance (1946), and the first to institute a hospital insurance plan (1947).

Douglas adopted a three-pronged approach to economic development, a mix of private enterprise, cooperatives, and Crown corporations. The latter included utilities (power and telephones), transportation companies (bus and airlines), and entrepreneurial ventures, such as sodium sulphate mining, a woollen

GLENBOW ARCHIVES / NA-2271-2

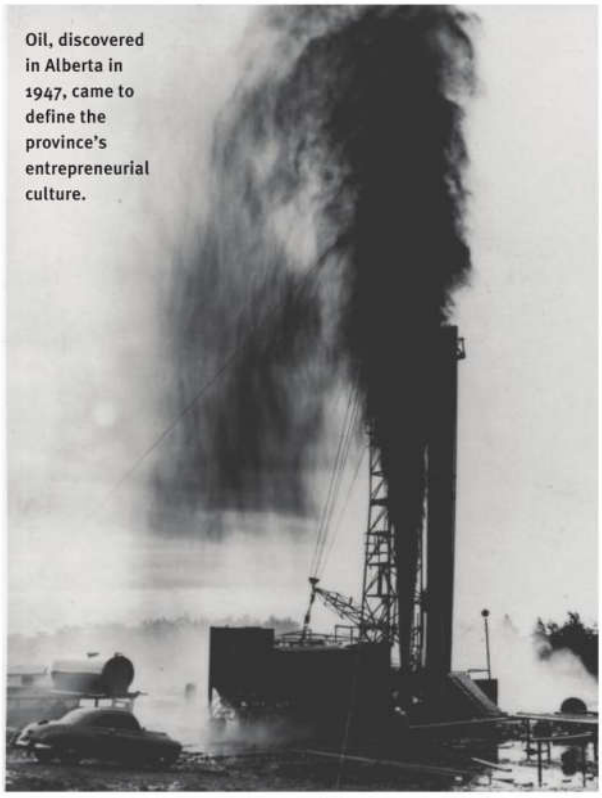
"Bible Bill" Aberhart's quirky Man from Mars radio series addressed social issues. Though the economic principles of social credit never gained widespread acceptance in the world, in William Aberhart's Depression-era Alberta, they struck a chord. The doctrine's British founder, C.H. Douglas, believed that the capitalist system, due to inefficiencies and self-interest, held back the economy by denying people the full purchasing power they were due. He advocated a monetary system organized for the benefit of citizens and the distribution of "social credit" money so that people could stimulate the economy through increased purchasing. Though thwarted by federal financial legislation from putting social-credit theory into practice and gaining control of Alberta's banks, Aberhart's party eventually abandoned their monetary policy, evolving into a more traditional conservative party.

1947

Saskatchewan becomes the first province to pass human rights legislation prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, colour, or creed.

1962

Saskatchewan introduces medicare to its citizens. Doctors opposing the plan go on strike, which is eventually resolved by a legislative amendment.



Oil, discovered in Alberta in 1947, came to define the province's entrepreneurial culture.

GLENBOW ARCHIVES / NA-5351-1

mill, and a shoe factory. By 1949 eleven Crown corporations provided 3,000 jobs and conducted business worth $25 million annually. The province basked in prosperity through the 1950s, the population rising by 90,000 between 1951 and 1960. The growth occurred even though the number of people on the land declined as agriculture became more mechanized and capital intensive. Increased production of oil, gas, and uranium, and the beginnings of a potash industry helped diversify the economy so that the province began to escape its roller-coaster dependency on wheat.

Saskatchewan's postwar growth, while impressive, did not match that of Alberta. The Leduc well south of Edmonton blew on February 13, 1947, inaugurating an oil boom that saw production rise from 7.7 million barrels in 1946 to 143.7 million barrels in 1956. Alberta vaulted past Saskatchewan in population, growing from 803,000 in 1946 to 1,332,000 in 1961. Ernest Manning, who succeeded Aberhart as premier in 1943, quietly dropped social-credit nostrums and settled down to efficient administration based on a "philosophy of individualism, strong opposition to socialism, Cold War rhetoric, and anti-unionism." The government left the development of natural resources to the private sector, using the royalties to pay for roads, schools, hospitals, and social services.

The late 1940s was the turning point. Alberta abandoned the political experimentation of the 1930s Depression and pinned its future on oil wells. By 1965 Calgary was home to the headquarters of 965 companies involved in various phases of the petroleum industry, and Edmonton, too, emerged as a major refining and petrochemical centre. U.S. investment and management dominated the industry, which reinforced the American influence that had been present since the early settlement period. The risk-taking bravado associated with oil exploration and drilling spilled over into the political culture. Alberta became the new frontier – brash, bold, and independent-minded.

In Saskatchewan the opposite happened. The Depression-born socialist party became entrenched in the institutions and mindset of the province. The CCF government held power from 1944 to 1964, when it finally succumbed to the Liberals under Ross Thatcher. In 1961 Tommy Douglas introduced legislation to establish a universal, tax-supported medical insurance plan. In one bold stroke, he transformed health care from a private purchase to a public good. The doctors in the province went on strike on July 1, 1962, the day the plan was supposed to go into effect. Since Douglas had resigned as premier in November 1961 to lead the federal New Democratic Party (as the CCF was now called), the burden of implementing medicare fell on Woodrow Lloyd. He almost broke under the strain. "How much punishment can the people take?" he wrote. "How much can we justifiably expose them to?" Vandals spray painted "Commie" on Lloyd's house, and health minister Bill Davies slept with a ten-gauge shotgun in the wastebasket next to his bed. The Regina police placed guards at the homes of cabinet ministers. Finally, on July 23, 1962, the doctors signed an agreement to end the strike. Medicare proved so popular that in 1968 the federal government extended it across Canada.

That year, too, Ernest Manning stepped down as premier of Alberta. Three years later the Social Credit Party passed into oblivion, swept out of office by the Progressive Conservatives under forty-three-year-old Peter Lougheed, who freely admitted that there were no profound ideological differences separating his party from Social Credit. It was a matter, he said, "of selling the same free enterprise philosophy in a new package." The Conservatives campaigned under the one-word slogan "NOW." Everybody knew what it meant. Albertans wanted a government that

1968

The federal Medical Care Act comes into effect, extending Saskatchewan's publicly funded health-care system across Canada.

1971

The Conservative Party, led by Peter Lougheed, wins the Alberta election, thus ending the long reign of the Social Credit party.

reflected the youth, optimism, energy, and increasingly urban character of the province.

In 1973 OPEC jacked up oil prices, setting off another economic boom in Alberta. Provincial GDP almost doubled between 1971 and 1981, and the population grew from 1.6 million to 2.2 million. The federal government froze oil prices in Canada below the world price, and introduced new taxes to transfer oil wealth from Alberta to Ottawa. As a result, the province lost an estimated $50 billion in revenues in the 1970s and 1980s. When the 1974 federal budget ruled that provincial royalties were no longer deductible in the collection of federal income taxes (which gave Ottawa more money), Lougheed characterized the move as "the biggest rip-off of any province in Canadian history." He urged voters in the 1975 election to support his struggle. "It's time for Albertans to stand together … I need to know you are behind me." He was rewarded with 63 percent of the popular vote and sixty-nine of seventy-five members of the legislature.

In Saskatchewan, too, the resource battle heated up. World markets wanted what the province had to offer: wheat, oil, and potash. Allan Blakeney, the NDP premier who took office the same year as Lougheed, spent resource revenues to build on the social welfare legacy of the CCF. He introduced a guaranteed income supplement for senior citizens, a family income plan for the working poor, a children's dental service, and a prescription drug plan. Blakeney joined Lougheed in the fight for control of natural resources. The two men set aside political differences to forge a common front against Ottawa.

In one respect, Saskatchewan's policy differed from that of Alberta. Lougheed preferred to leave resource development to the private sector, asserting the public interest through regulation and the collection of royalties. Blakeney intervened directly through Crown corporations such as Saskoil, the Saskatchewan Mining and Development Corporation (mainly uranium), and the Potash Corporation of Saskatchewan. By 1979 the Crown Investments Corporation, the holding company for the crowns, had assets of $3.5 billion and revenues of over $1 billion.

The biggest gamble was the Potash Corporation (PCS). The throne speech in November 1975 announced the government's intention "to acquire the assets of some or all of the producing mines in the province." Further, if agreement for sale could not be reached voluntarily, the government reserved the right to expropriate the assets it wanted. When the legislation came forward, the Opposition Liberals mounted a lengthy filibuster. They said that government ownership of potash mines was unnecessary and would scare off investors. In the end, the Blakeney government did not use its powers of expropriation. It struck deals with private companies to acquire 40 percent of the industry.

Deputy Premier Roy Romanow said in 1977 "potash would be to the 1970s what medicare had been to the 1960s." The prediction did not come true. The Conservative Party led by Grant Devine defeated the Blakeney government in 1982 and privatized all the resource Crown corporations that the NDP had created. After prolonged and bitter debate (closure was invoked for the first time in the history of the province), PCS was sold. The Blakeney government bought the mines when potash prices were high, and the Devine government sold them when prices were low – the worst possible scenario from a business point of view.

CP PICTURES/DAVE BUSTON

Saskatchewan NDP leader and newly-elected Premier Roy Romanow (right) and former NDP Premier Allan Blakeney celebrate Romanow's election victory October.21, 1991, in Saskatoon.

Saskatchewan has always had a competitive party system. From the 1930s onward the NDP (earlier the CCF) faced off against the anti-NDP party of the day, successively the Liberals, Conservatives, and the Saskatchewan Party. This makes for exciting politics, but also inconsistency in public policy from one administration to the next. Alberta, by contrast, has a tradition of serial one-party dominance, first the Liberals, then the United

1973

A rise in world oil prices sets off an economic boom in Alberta.

1982

Grant Devine's Conservative party defeats the NDP government and proceeds to privatize all the resource Crown corporations created by the former administration.

Farmers of Alberta, Social Credit, and the Conservatives. The party in power typically has little opposition, but when it is defeated, it is gone forever. The ruling parties of Alberta have all shared the same free enterprise, antisocialist philosophy. Social Credit may seem like an aberration, but only superficially so. Aberhart assailed the "fifty big shots," but not the capitalist system itself. In any case, when the oil began to flow, Social Credit became a regular free-enterprise party.

Alberta's political uniformity is partly based on a strong sense of regional grievance. Every premier from William Aberhart to Ralph Klein has rallied the voters in defence of provincial rights. Saskatchewan shares this pro-Western, anti-Ottawa feeling, but to a lesser extent. More often a "have-not" province than a "have" province, it needs federal money more than Alberta does. It cannot bite the hand that feeds it. Alberta, on the other hand, pays vastly more in taxes to Ottawa than it receives in federal benefits. The American influence is also stronger in Alberta because of early settlement patterns and the structure of the oil industry.

Nor can the impact of personal leadership be discounted. If William Aberhart had lived in Weyburn and Tommy Douglas in Calgary, the histories of the two provinces might well have been different. Although Social Credit candidates did not do well in Saskatchewan, they fared best in areas of the province that were within reach of Aberhart's radio broadcasts. Until the 1930s the two provinces moved along not dissimilar historical trajectories. Their starkly divergent responses to the Depression set them travelling in opposite directions, a pattern that the oil boom in Alberta later consolidated. Saskatchewan has oil, too, but it has not been developed in sufficient quantity to drive the economy the way it does in Alberta.

The two centenarian provinces started out similarly, but evolved in contrary directions. At birth, they might have been mistaken for twins, but clearly they were not. And yet, each in its own way has enjoyed success and contributed to the building of Canada. We admire the brassy entrepreneurialism and shoot-from-the-hip populism of Alberta, and Saskatchewan's legacy of medicare and social justice is equally impressive. Neither province allowed itself to be defeated by the challenges of developing the West, the up-and-down cycles of a resource-based economy, or the harsh adversity of the Great Depression. They seized the day and made the most of what they had. Alberta and Saskatchewan are two poles of our national soul, and on their 100th birthdays we can celebrate them both.

James M. Pitsula is a professor of history in the Department of History at the University of Regina.

ET CETERA

***Saskatchewan: A New History* by Bill Waiser. Fifth House, Calgary, 2005.**

***Alberta Formed – Alberta Transformed.* Edited by Michael Payne, Donald G. Wetherell, and Catherine Cavanaugh. University of Alberta Press/ University of Calgary Press, 2005.**

Nine who made

The Crusader

Louise McKinney became an Alberta MLA in 1917, one of the first two women in Canada to be elected to a legislature. (The other was Roberta MacAdams, a nursing sister in the First World War, who was elected by Alberta military voters serving overseas.) Born Louise Crummy in 1868, she grew up in Leeds County, Ontario, and attended teachers training college in Ottawa. After living for a time in North Dakota, she married ex-Ontarian James McKinney and settled at Claresholm, Alberta. She was elected president of the combined Alberta and Saskatchewan Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1908, and four years later, when two separate provincial organizations were set up, she continued as president of the Alberta branch, a position she held until her death in 1931.

In addition to campaigning against the liquor evil, McKinney assailed the "white slave traffic," as prostitution was then known. She worried about the allegedly degrading influence of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants, even questioning at one point whether they should be allowed to vote. Conversely, she believed that Anglo-Saxon women had a solemn duty to take part in politics in order to ensure for the nation "a higher standard of character and purer habits of life."

Although McKinney served only one term in the Alberta legislature, she returned to the spotlight in 1927 as one of the Famous Five who launched a court case to determine the legal status of women. On October 18, 1929, the British Privy Council, then the highest court of appeal, declared that women were indeed "persons" under the law, a landmark in the evolution of women's rights in Canada.

The Activist

When **John Tootoosis** was twenty-five years old, he paid a visit to an elderly aunt. After they had talked for a while, she left the room and returned with a cloth bundle. Unwrapping it, she took out Chief Poundmaker's treaty medal, the whereabouts of which had been a mystery for a long time. She had saved it until she found someone she considered worthy to receive it.

Poundmaker helped negotiate Treaty 6 in 1876 and played a statesmanlike role during the 1885 Rebellion, sparing the Canadian militia major casualties at the Battle of Cutknife Hill. Tootoosis, his grandnephew, was born on July 18, 1899. It soon became evident that he shared many of the qualities of his famous ancestor. When the local Indian agent tried to lease five sections of Poundmaker Reserve to a white farmer, twenty-one-year-old Tootoosis went to see a lawyer. He was told that if the land were fenced, the lease could be blocked. Tootoosis went back to the reserve, organized a work party, and put up the fence.

He became active in the League of Indians, an organization that had been founded in 1919 to protect native rights and treaties. Travelling throughout the West, he held countless meetings and workshops to build up the organization. It was slow work. Funds were scarce, and Indian Affairs officials threatened to charge him with trespassing when he entered reserves other than his own. He was elected secretary and organ-

a difference

izer for the prairie region in 1932 and president of the League of Indians of Western Canada in 1934. After the Second World War, he headed the Union of Saskatchewan Indians, which has since evolved into the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. He died in 1989, having succeeded in his mission of carrying forward Poundmaker's quest into the twentieth century.

The Theorist

Henry Wise Wood was born in Missouri in 1860, the son of a slaveholder who fought on the Confederate side in the Civil War. Dissatisfied with managing his father's farm and wanting land of his own, he moved to Alberta in 1905. He took up wheat farming near Carstairs, not far from Calgary, and immersed himself in the work of farm organizations.

A member of the Campbellite Church, also known as the Disciples of Christ, Wood developed a theory of history based on the interplay of two opposing laws: what he called "the false law of competition" and "the true law of cooperation." Farmers, he believed, embodied the spirit of cooperation, evident, for example, in the formation of the wheat pool. Their cause was bound to succeed since, as Wood expressed it, "the Supreme Power that flung the numberless hosts of worlds out into infinite space ... has this work in hand and will not let it fail."

The premiership of Alberta was Wood's for the asking, but he declined the office because he feared his American background would be held against him. He need not have worried. When he died in 1941, he was widely regarded as "the uncrowned king of Alberta" and "the Canadian Abraham Lincoln."

The Public Servant

Allan Blakeney was born in 1925 in Bridgewater, Nova Scotia, where his father, a Tory of British Empire Loyalist stock, operated a wholesale grocery store. He enrolled at Dalhousie University law school, graduating at the top of his class, and won a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford. While still a university student, he joined the CCF party, a radical gesture for an up-and-coming lawyer in conservative Nova Scotia. Completing his university education in 1949, he took a job as the secretary and legal advisor to the Saskatchewan Government Finance Office, which was the holding company for the province's Crown corporations. As part of a talented group of senior public servants that included Al Johnson and Tommy Shoyama (later, respectively, president of the CBC and federal deputy minister of finance), Blakeney adjusted readily to life in Saskatchewan. His experience with Crown corporations confirmed his view that there was "no mystique in private management." He thought that public sector companies could operate as efficiently as private ones and, at least in some cases, with more socially desirable results.

After a stint as head of the Saskatchewan Securities Commission, he entered private law practice as a springboard into politics. Elected MLA for Regina in 1960, he vaulted directly into the cabinet as minister of education and, one year later, minister of finance. As leader of the Saskatchewan NDP, he scored a massive election victory over the incumbent Liberals in 1971. He continued as premier until 1982 when he suffered an equally decisive defeat at the hands of the Conservatives. Blakeney retired from politics in 1987, paving the way for his successor Roy Romanow.

The Writer

Though born and raised in Saskatchewan, **W.O. Mitchell** spent most of his adult life in Alberta, and both provinces claim him as one of their own. He drew heavily on his Weyburn boyhood to write *Who Has Seen the Wind*, with its classic opening sentence: "Here was the least common denominator of nature, the skeleton requirements simply, of land and sky – Saskatchewan prairie." He also incorporated into the story characters and situations that he encountered as a teacher in small-town Alberta in the early 1940s.

W.O. Mitchell's fiction, while rooted in the landscape of Saskatchewan and Alberta, speaks to universal themes. Living on the prairies means that it is possible to walk two blocks from the last house on the street and enter an eternal, incomprehensible immensity, a symbol for Mitchell of the mystery of existence. Brian O'Connal, the central character in *Who Has Seen the Wind*, runs away from his uncle's farm, where he is staying while his parents are away, and spends the night sleeping in a haystack: "As the wind mounted in intensity so too the feeling of defencelessness rose in him. It was as though he listened to the drearing wind and in the spread darkness of the prairie night was being drained of his very self." That night, as Brian later learns, his father dies on a hospital operating table. W.O. Mitchell, in the guise of telling a simple story about a boy growing up in a small town, invested the prairies with metaphysical significance.

The Feminist

Marjorie Cooper, née Lovering, was born in Winnipeg in 1902. Her father had been a Methodist missionary in British Columbia and her mother a prominent temperance worker. she taught in one-room country schools until she married Ed Cooper, also a schoolteacher. Marriage in the 1920s often meant the end of paid work for women, and Cooper settled down to a life centred on looking after her husband and two daughters. She became active in community organizations, especially the YWCA and the Regina Council of Women. In 1945 the Saskatchewan government appointed her to the Labor Relations Board, which was responsible for enforcing the Trade Union Act.

Cooper in 1952 sought the CCF nomination in the three-member Regina constituency – a bold move. From 1938 to 1964, only 3.1

percent of all Saskatchewan CCF candidates were women. She won the seat and took her place as the only female member of the legislature. Reelected three times, she retired in 1967, never having experienced defeat at the polls. Defining herself primarily as a wife and mother, she saw feminism as an extension of maternalism. One of her main goals as a legislator was to make the world a safer and happier place for children. But she also had a steely side. When the Regina *Leader-Post* asked to take a picture of her baking a cake, she declined, preferring to be photographed at work in her office. However, she did not object when at the beginning of each new sitting of the legislature, her male colleagues placed a fresh bouquet of flowers on her desk.

The Politician

Peter Lougheed was the grandson of Sir James Lougheed, a prominent Conservative lawyer who arrived in Calgary in 1882 and at age thirty-five was appointed the youngest member of the Canadian Senate. In a speech delivered in 1889, Sir James predicted that the natural resources of Alberta would make it one day "the dominant portion of the Dominion." One hundred years later, his grandson was locked in a battle with Ottawa for control of those resources.

Despite his illustrious heritage, Peter Lougheed was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Most of the family fortune was lost in the 1930s Depression, and his father sought consolation in alcohol. Lougheed studied law at the University of Alberta and, though a mere 160 pounds, played football for the Edmonton Eskimos. After earning a master's degree in business administration at Harvard, he accepted a position as secretary and legal advisor to the Calgary-based Mannix holding company. Owner Fred Mannix was the archetypal, freewheeling entrepreneur involved in a variety of business ventures including construction, ranching, coal mining, oil, and gas. Lougheed rose up the ladder to become vice president and director, learning from the inside how a successful private-sector corporation operates.

He left Mannix in 1961, set up his own law firm, and entered politics. His biggest gamble was accepting in 1965 the leadership of the moribund provincial Progressive Conservatives, a party that had no seats, no money, and no organization. Six years later he ended the thirty-six-year-old Social Credit dynasty, capturing forty-nine of seventy-five seats in the legislature. He won overwhelming victories again in 1975, 1979, and 1982 before retiring as premier in 1985.

The Socialist

Born in 1904 in Falkirk, Scotland, **Tommy Douglas** arrived in Winnipeg with his parents and sister in 1911. Although his father's income supported a respectable working-class standard of living, there was no money for luxuries or unexpected emergencies. When Douglas developed osteomyelitis in one leg, the doctors said they would have to amputate. By chance, an orthopedic specialist came through the hospital ward and agreed to perform surgery to save the leg as a "teaching project for his students." The incident left a deep impression on the future founder of medicare.

Douglas apprenticed as a printer, and by age sixteen had a union card and operated a linotype machine. He was active in church groups, joined the Boy Scouts, and won the Manitoba Lightweight Boxing Championship in 1922. He chose a career as a Baptist minister, but his social gospel beliefs soon propelled him into politics. He was elected in 1935 as the CCF member of Parliament for Weyburn and reelected in 1940. In 1942 he took over the leadership of the Saskatchewan CCF and led the party to victory in 1944. Undefeated in five elections, he resigned as premier in 1961 to become national leader of the NDP, a post he held for ten years. Although the Saskatchewan magic did not quite transfer to the national scene, Douglas was known for his strong convictions, including a principled stand against the War Measures Act in 1970. He died in 1986, his status as a Canadian icon assured.

The Preacher

Born in 1878, **William Aberhart** grew up on a farm in Perth County, Ontario. He attended teachers college and earned a B.A. degree taking correspondence courses from Queen's University. A stimulating, if authoritarian, teacher, he assigned each of his students a three-digit number by which he addressed them, and stamped their assignments with a rubber stamp that read "Checked by Wm. Aberhart." In 1910 Aberhart, his wife Jessie, and daughters Ola and Khona moved to Calgary, a city of 50,000, where cowboys still rode into town for the cattle market and
"the smell of horse manure permeated the air." He established himself as a respected citizen – by day the highly efficient principal of Crescent Heights High School and by night and on weekends a lay preacher, Bible school instructor, and youth group leader. He got by with as little as four hours of sleep per night and was even rumoured to start his Buick in second gear, rather than first, in order to save time.

Aberhart was uninterested in politics until the 1930s, when he embraced an obscure monetary panacea called social credit. Against all odds, he took the province by storm and won the 1935 election. As premier, he lived with his wife in a two-room suite at Edmonton's Hotel Macdonald where he held cabinet meetings. His wife sat in the corner knitting and occasionally interjecting, "Now, now William," when his temper got the better of him. Although the federal government vetoed his social credit legislation, Aberhart was re-elected in 1940 and died in office in 1943, largely as a result of "overwork, lack of sleep and inordinate stress."

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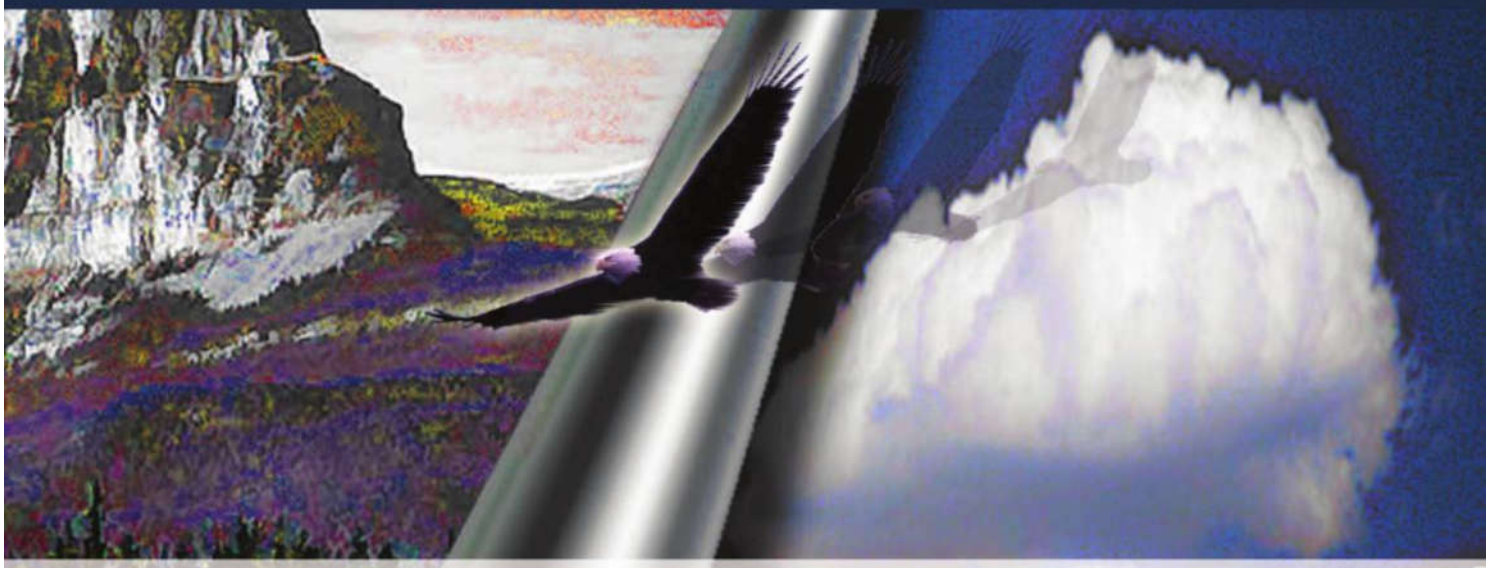

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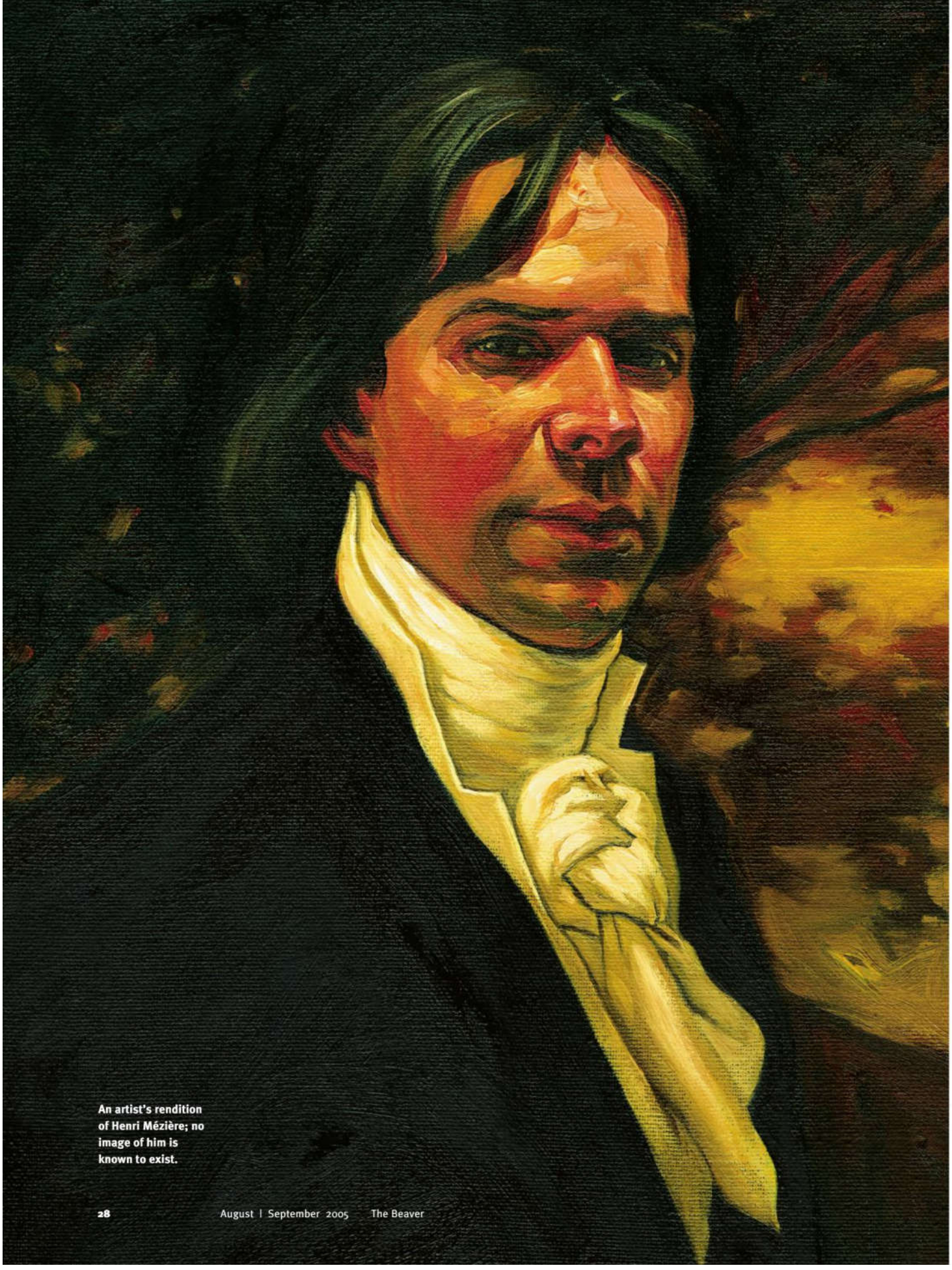

An artist's rendition of Henri Mézière; no image of him is known to exist.

Citizen Mézière

Inflamed by the romance of the French Revolution, young Henri Mézière dreamed of overthrowing Quebec's English overlords. If only his ship had sailed in the right direction.

by Mark Reynolds

Henri Mézière gazed over the rail of the warship *l'Éole* as the shambling waterfront of New York slid by; his eyes were bright, taking in every detail. Though he had been in the city for several weeks, this was the first time he had been on a seagoing vessel, and his heart sang with the portent of the moment. The smells of the waterfront and lapping of the waves, every sensation was burned into his mind, for this was an undertaking that he believed would long be told and retold in the histories of his people. Today, October 5, 1793, would mark the beginning of a new North American revolution, and the forging of a transatlantic republican alliance that would crush the British monarchists forever.

His gaze turned from the city and to the goings on in the water. All around him, on *l'Éole* and the dozen or so ships that sailed with her, men were clambering about in the rigging, cursing and barking orders in French. This collection of vessels, this mighty fleet would avenge France, whose humiliations in North America were due to a weak and corrupt monarchy, now rightly executed for their crimes at the hands of the people. These sailors were no Royalist flunkies, snivelling before priests and Redcoats like the politicians he left in Montreal. These men were hardened revolutionaries, and British North America was to be their next Bastille. Halifax would be sacked and burned, the people of St. Pierre and Miquelon would be returned to the embrace of Mother France, the fisheries of Newfoundland would be destroyed. And maybe, just maybe, as Mézière secretly hoped, he would be able to convince the admiral to take his fleet up the St. Lawrence to liberate the long-suffering people of Quebec, suffering still under the thumb of Governor Dorchester.

ILLUSTRATION FOR THE BEAVER BY ALAIN MASSICOTTE

And Mézière would be the one to do it. Only twenty years old, he was the political officer attached to the French fleet who would act as a liaison to the French Canadian population, which he hoped would rise up to aid this expedition. Though he was but a printer's assistant from Montreal, he had received his commission from the most important Frenchman in North America: Edmond Charles Genêt himself, the French ambassador to the world's only other democratic republic, the United States of America. As the fleet made its way out into the Atlantic, Mézière took one last look around at the busy and hard-looking sailors. He returned to his cabin to review his revolutionary pamphlets once more.

The French Revolution was already four years old when Mézière sailed with the French West Indian fleet from New York that October day. The ideals of liberty and equality espoused by the republicans across the sea struck a sympathetic chord with Mézière and many like him in Quebec, who were living under a Legislative Council where it was a struggle to even have French recognized as an official language. With the declaration of war between revolutionary France and Great Britain earlier that year, those ideals also struck fear in the hearts of the colonial authorities in Lower Canada.

The events that followed the storming of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, were not immediately seen as a threat to Britain or her interests overseas, as they were considerably less violent than what was to come. Until the September Massacres of 1792, when a Jacobin-inspired mob lynched over a thousand noblemen imprisoned in Paris, the Revolution was considered a justified – and long overdue – repeat of the Glorious Revolution that Britain herself had experienced a century before. But as the French Rev-

Mézière, from the shores of Lake Champlain, sent Rous into Montreal with the propaganda. Rous returned with a report that the young man's presence and mission were known to the British and that he would be arrested if he crossed the border.

olution gained vicious momentum, British onlookers feared such revolutionary sentiments might spread their way.

In Canada, where the political battle for representative government was raging in the Assembly and in the newspapers, the events in France in the early days of the revolution were seen as a source of inspiration. Late in 1790 the president of the Montreal Société des Patriotes – a group of some two hundred young reformers – was quoted in the *Montreal Gazette* as believing the revolution represented "a renewed France, a people freed from oppression… and an end to nobility, except of the heart and of deeds." Revolutionary sympathy aside, the president ended with a loyal toast to the province's House of Assembly. Mézière, a member of the Société, was only eighteen years old when that address was published.

The son of a Montreal lawyer and a passionate young man, Mézière rebelled against the conservative education the Sulpician Fathers gave him. Instead he found inspiration in the works of Rousseau and Montesquieu, French Enlightenment writers, who "taught me to know my duties and my rights; they ripened in me a hatred of civil and religious despotism. For the first time, existence pleased me."

With a job as an assistant to Fleury Mesplet, the republican founder of the *Montreal Gazette*, Mézière was well placed to share his ideals with the world. His world was in a process of transformation already. The Constitutional Act of 1791 provided a new structure for the colony of Lower Canada, with a form of representative government. Many saw this development as an appeasement by the British to the French Canadians, who might look to their erstwhile motherland as a political role model.

That may not have quite been the case. The modernization of Quebec's government was seen as a necessary step, not as an appeasing measure. In the days leading to the adoption of the Constitutional Act, France's troubles had so weakened Britain's long-time enemy, the time was considered ideal to implement a complicated and disruptive change in government in the colony. Britain's secretary of state, William Grenville, wrote to Quebec's governor, Guy Carleton, Baron Dorchester that "the state of France is such, as gives Us little to fear from that quarter in the present moment. The opportunity is therefore most favourable for the adoption of such measures as may tend to consolidate Our strength, and increase our resources, so as to enable Ourselves to meet any efforts that the most favourable event of the present troubles can ever enable her to make."

PHOTO FOR THE BEAVER BY CHRISTIAN FLEURY

Nonetheless, sentiments like Mézière's were not uncommon, and with the French declaration of November 19, 1792, to aid republican revolutionaries abroad, those sentiments were dangerous to the elite of Lower Canada, and potentially seditious. At the outbreak of war between France and England, membership in such reformist groups as the Montreal Société des Patriotes was banned, and discussion of the events overseas forbidden.

Even before the war, the English elite of Quebec interpreted Canadien assertions of equality in the new legislature as being, at the very least, inspired by the ideology of the Revolution. In the initial debates over what the official language of the legislature should be, several French Canadian reformers banded together to successfully lobby for bilingual proceedings and bills. Merchant John Richardson wrote that "there are two parties amongst the French – one obnoxious to the New Constitution, as they opposed our procuring it – the other more dangerous as being infected with the detestable principles now prevalent in France."

The execution of Louis XVI ensured that there would be no middle ground on views of the Revolution in Quebec. The shocking event polarized society – only the hardcore republican fringe dared express solidarity with the killers of a king. Lest there be any doubters, the clergy in Quebec began denying the sacrament to those foolish enough to continue to voice republican sentiments. Mézière was one who was so foolish, but rather than talk about the Revolution in Montreal, he decided to join it.

> The press was harassed, I was wanted by the police and would have been arrested were it not for the vigorous decision I made, a decision which changed my destiny. As early as the Age of the Revolution, I wanted to go to France. These last incidents made me realize it. When I told my parents of my resolution, they were astounded to the point of abandoning me and letting me travel without any help. But nature has provided the poorest with the means to shield his honour from slavery – it gave him legs. Mine served me so well that after a three week walk last May and a journey of 500 leagues I reached Philadelphia.

It was here that Mézière encountered French Ambassador Genêt for the first time. The two men were fatefully alike. Though Genêt was a full decade older, his fervour for the ideals of the Revolution were as passionate as the young French Canadian who presented himself to the diplomat's service.

As with Mézière, Citizen Genêt (as he was called by Americans who supported the French cause) was not inclined to fight for the Revolution through words alone. In the U.S. for only a few months, he had already enraged many in the administration through his very active pursuit of French interests. A Girondist,[1] Genêt believed that it was the duty of the French to spread the egalitarian vision of the Revolution around the world, much like the Communist Internationale would more than a century later.

When Genêt was sent to the United States he was already an experienced diplomat, having spent three years attached to the French mission to St. Petersburg. Barred from the Russian court at the outbreak of the Revolution – Catherine the Great astutely noted his republican sympathies – Genêt returned to Paris. There, his impeccable ideological credentials impressed the Girondists enough that he was sent to America, despite his young age. The idealistic Girondists then in power in the National Assembly believed that the United States, being a republic and indebted to the French for aid thirteen years before, would be an ally in the struggle to bring freedom to the world. They would at the very least be happy to stick it to the British.

Edmond Charles Genêt was Revolutionary France's ambassador to the United States and an inspiration to Mézière, who met the older man in Philadelphia in 1793. Genêt's term was brief. Washington asked France for his recall after he conspired with those who opposed the U.S. policy of neutrality in the conflict between Britain and France. Rather than return to France and face the increasingly brutal revolutionary regime, Genêt chose to remain in the U.S. where he devoted his life to farming.

Genêt's instructions – which he helped draft – reflected this belief. Genêt was to work towards "a national pact in which the two peoples would amalgamate their commercial and political interests and establish an intimate concert, which would promote the extension of the Empire of liberty." Idealistic Genêt believed such an alliance would "add the glorious star of Canada to the American constellation."

Should the Americans not be interested in acquiring Britain's North American possessions, Genêt was to actively encourage republican movements in the colonies of the New World, including Quebec. He sailed for America on February 20, 1793, with 250 blank military commissions for that purpose.

Fine words, and there were many in the U.S. that would have been delighted to join their spiritual brothers in a fight against the British. Unfortunately for Genêt and his mission, the administration of George Washington was not among them: the U.S. took a position of neutrality in the fight between Great Britain and France; trade with Britain was simply too valuable for the financially struggling republic to risk a war.

In Genêt's prolific correspondence with Thomas Jefferson, President Washington's secretary of state, Genêt revealed himself to be a man who did not fully grasp the niceties of diplomacy. He repeatedly attempted to meddle in the affairs of American courts, and on one occasion tried to appeal to the president – over the head of Jefferson – on an issue of an American citizen who had been arrested while in Genêt's employ. The capture of a British

[1] Member of a moderate republican party of Revolutionary France.

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ship in American waters by the French warship *Embuscade* only added to the friction.

Genêt's employ of Mézière was another such breach of diplomatic protocol. Upon meeting the young Frenchman, Genêt determined that rather than send him to France, he would be more useful to the Republic in North America. Writing to Alexandre Hauterive, the French consul in New York, Genêt indicated that it was his hope that the two republicans could work together to oust the British from North America. Mézière would lay the groundwork for the operation.

> The Citizen who came here to throw himself into my arms will be very useful to fulfil this object; he is educated, an ardent republican, and knows his country well, which he was obliged to quit as the result of the inquisition that the English exercise there and of the aristocratic views of his father.

In the summer of 1793, Mézière went to Cumberland Head, New York, on Lake Champlain, with nearly $400 to carry out his mission. He set up shop in an inn owned by another French Canadian, Jacques Rous, who he employed as a courier.

"The first mission that he [Genêt] charged me with had the aim of bringing me closer to Canada, to open communications between those countries and the United States. Specifically I was to investigate the provisions of the Canadians, and to distribute patriotic pamphlets, songs and bulletins of the Convention[2] and an address written specifically for them," recalled Mézière some months later. The address, penned by Genêt, "Les Français libres à leurs frères du Canada," touched on many of the grievances of the French Canadians of the time. It promised political offices for Canadiens, an end to the fur trade monopoly, schools in every parish, elected priests, and the abolishment of seigneurial rights. "Canadians, it is time to rouse from the lethargic sleep in which you are plunged, arm yourselves, call to your aid your friends the Indians, count on the support of your neighbors and on that of the French," was its call to arms.

Mézière, from the shores of Lake Champlain, sent Rous into Montreal with the propaganda. Rous returned with a report that the young man's presence and mission were known to the British and that he would be arrested if he crossed the border. He also reported that although Mézière's friends were afraid to write him, the feeling of the French in Canada was sympathetic as a whole, though they did not circulate Genêt's tract immediately: "with a people wholly plunged in the dense shadows of ignorance and slavery, it is not fitting to suddenly cause to shine the Sun of Liberty at noon."

Rous had one more bit of news to report: British navy ships stationed in Montreal had been called to Halifax, leaving the St. Lawrence River largely unprotected – a seemingly perfect opportunity for the republicans to strike. This would have been wholly irrelevant, as ordinarily no expedition could have been launched until

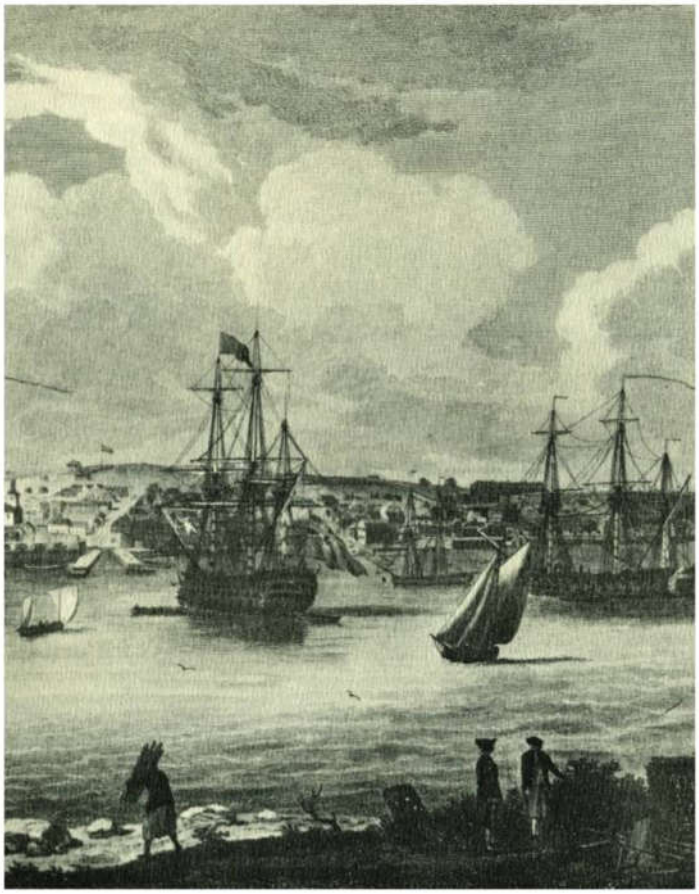
spring, but for a stroke of ill fortune for the French in their colony of Santo Domingo. A rebellion on the Caribbean island had forced the French fleet there to retreat, sending them to New York to lick their wounds. The fleet was mutinous, but to have several ships of the line put in his hands was too fortuitous for Genêt to ignore.

On August 15 Genêt wrote a letter to his superiors in France telling him of his intentions to use the vessels to sack and burn Halifax, retake St. Pierre and Miquelon from the British, and sail up the St. Lawrence "to sound the dispositions of the Canadians, whom my agents excite to insurrection." But it is hardly certain, at least in 1793, that French Canadians were ready to take up arms – even at the appearance of a liberating fleet, although there was certainly some fear among the colony's elite of such an event. Church authorities were especially active in fighting the rhetoric of the anti-clerical and irreligious Revolution.

Genêt's confidence likely stemmed from Mézière's reports to the French that emphasized the language conflict in the legislature (the official language was effectively English, despite the efforts of French reformers) and the British origin of the 1791 Constitution. According to Mézière, the Canadians awaited only a sign from France:

"It thus follows that the Canadians, these isolated descendants of the French People, are unhappy, that they are aware of their misfortune and exude hate and vengeance against the English. But what else can they do without arms, direction or support?"

[2] The legislative body set up by the Revolutionists to govern France and which eventually abolished, and then executed, Louis XVI



BEAVER COLLECTION

Halifax in the mid-eighteenth century. In Mézière's imaginings, the Nova Scotia port would be sacked and burned en route to sailing up the St. Lawrence and freeing the long-suffering people of Quebec.

On October 5, on board *l'Éole*, Mézière was prepared to provide the arms and the leadership, but it was too late. The military men aboard the fractious and mutinous fleet had finally convinced the fervent duo of Genêt and Mézière of the impracticality of launching a full-scale attack against Quebec with no planning or support. Under Admiral Sercey, the fleet was instead to sack Halifax and other English possessions, including the fisheries in Newfoundland. But even this scaled-back attack did not occur.

"It was not possible to execute the minister's key instructions without dangerously exposing the Republic's ships and seamen. The only possible expedition, at that time of year, was the interception of fur trade convoys coming from Canada and to stay in cruise for a fortnight," wrote Mézière of the mid-ocean decision to abort the mission. There is no indication that even the attack on the fur convoy was attempted.

L'Éole brought Mézière to Brest in early November, where in January he prepared a report on his activities and his impressions of Canada and the U.S. to the French minister of marine, Jean Dalbarade. Now in his beloved France, Mézière missed the chance to witness the beginnings of real rebellion in his homeland – indirectly a result of his own efforts, which had proved to the British that the French saw Canada as a potential theatre of operations.

In response to the perceived threat of a repeat of Mézière's aborted invasion, the legislature passed the Alien and Sedition Act and a bill modifying the terms by which the militia could be called. This latter bill proved to be the spark that would galvanize at least some of the Canadiens.

Governor Dorchester's call-up of the militia in May 1794 to respond to the threat of American invasion on the Vermont border led to riots, caused by rumours that farmers would be conscripted to fight for the British overseas. In Charlesbourg an armed mob patrolled the town to fight agents of the British, and in Montreal a group assembled to resist the militia order. In both cases the men – mostly farmers – disbanded without violence. It was at this point that Rous decided that Genêt's address would find fertile ground, and indeed it was circulated amongst all the parishes of Quebec.

There is no telling how widespread or genuinely republican the sentiment of the rioters was. In any case, with the arrest of the ringleaders, combined with judiciously lax enforcement of the militia act, unrest died down by the end of the year.

French designs on Canada were curtailed early in 1794. The American government, infuriated by Genêt's flagrant disregard for American sovereignty and diplomatic protocol, asked for his recall. Rather than risk his neck on a Jacobin guillotine, Genêt opted to remain in the U.S., where he became a farmer.

Mézière remained in France, where he became a municipal official in Bordeaux. He wrote home several times, and never forgot Canada. In 1814 he met Pierre de Sales Laterrière, another Canadian, just before Napoleon returned from the Elba. Laterrière recalled Mézière as being tired of war and missing his home: "'But my dear fellow-countryman,' said M. de Mézière, 'what are you doing in France, at such critical times? You will be drafted and forced to take part in the gigantic struggle that is about to be launched. I am sending a brigantine tomorrow as a messenger ship to England. It will be sailing under a white flag and I recommend you get on board. Here is your renewed passport. Meanwhile, let's have dinner together at my house tonight. We will talk about Canada. It has been a long time since I have heard from it.'"

It would not be long before he would see it. Two years later, using a family connection, Mézière was able to return to Canada. He renounced his previous intrigues and swore an oath of loyalty to the British Crown. Now in his mid forties, he had no stomach for bloodshed anymore. In 1818 he founded *L'Abeille canadienne*, a literary and philosophical periodical. Having seen the Revolution and Napoleon's excesses up close, he feared rather than embraced the influence of France, and in his journal he wrote that he hoped to counter "certain productions thrown off from the Old World because of the bloody catastrophes which they occasioned." 🖼

Mark Reynolds is a freelance writer and editor in Montreal, and is a regular contributor to the *Beaver*. He would like to thank Anne-Marie Bourdouxhe for her translation assistance.

BERYL G

ILLUSTRATION FOR THE BEAVER BY JEAN MARIE BENOIT

Inspector Cruickshank & The Case of the Beryl G

The boat was adrift. The crew was missing. But the blood and the bullet holes told a tale. By Philip Jensen

The pirates boarded the *Beryl G* near Sidney Island, twenty kilometres north of Victoria. They wanted the cargo she carried, and had the attitude and weapons to take it. When the fractious captain resisted, they shot him and clubbed his teenaged son on the head, killing them both. Then they hooked the bodies to a line and towed them into deeper water near Halibut Island in Georgia Strait. There, little more than a kilometre from where they died, Captain William Gillis and his son William were tied to the *Beryl G*'s anchor and dropped into the ocean. It was September 16, 1924. The people of America had endured prohibition for more than four years.

Captain Gillis and his son were rumrunners. They were also legitimate businessmen – as long as the established export duty of twenty dollars a case was paid to the Canadian government. But the very nature of their business put them at risk. And now they were dead, victims of a crime inspired by greed and facilitated by the conflicting laws of friendly neighbouring countries.

They were also victims of geography. On the West Coast an invisible line sweeps around the bottom of Vancouver Island, drawing the international boundary at approximately forty-eight degrees north latitude. Proceeding easterly, the line splits Juan de Fuca Strait almost midway between Canada and the United States. Clearing the tip of the island, it veers into Georgia Strait, tracing a jagged course north to the forty-ninth parallel, where it makes a beeline to the east. In this part of the

Owen (Cannonball) Baker (right) on his way to Vancouver for trial. He would be one of two men hanged at Okalla Prison for the murder of the *Beryl G*'s captain and his son.

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER COLLECTION / SEATTLE MUSEUM OF HISTORY & INDUSTRY / 1986.5.6.43

As the prisoners were brought in, Owen Baker noticed Inspector Cruickshank standing among the witnesses. "Hello there, Cruickshank," he said. "Goodbye, old boy."

ocean, the boundary is never more than a few kilometres from the shore of either country. And in the dead of night or in autumn fog, a boat is more likely to stray across the line than not.

With no crew to keep her safe, the *Beryl G* spent the night at the mercy of wind and tide. Chris Waters, lighthouse keeper of Turn Point Light on the American side, spotted the derelict vessel at dawn. Seeing that she was in danger of being pounded to pieces on the rocky shore, he enlisted help from the local postmaster and they towed the boat to safety. Only then did they board her. And only then did they realize that something dreadful had happened on the *Beryl G*.

Below deck was smeared with blood, and the disorder there was much more than the result of bad housekeeping. The American Coast Guard towed her to Friday Harbor on nearby San Juan Island and considered the alternatives. Their knowledge of the winds and currents of the last twenty-four hours suggested that the boat had drifted over from the Canadian side. And the *Beryl G* was a Canadian vessel, so the crew must have been Canadian as well. Clearly, this was a job for the Canadian police.

Inspector Forbes Cruickshank was a tough cop. In his mid fifties, he still had the size and rough manner that could intimidate those on the wrong side of the law. Cruickshank had begun his police career in Scotland, and found the work suited him well. But the New World called, and he soon emigrated to Canada, where he enlisted with the North-West Mounted Police. After years of exemplary service with the famous force, he moved again, this time to the BC Provincial Police. By the time *Beryl G* was found adrift, he was the inspector in charge of the Vancouver detachment of the provincial police's criminal investigation division.

As it happened, Cruickshank needed to get away from Vancouver for a time. The city was in an uproar over the Janet Smith case, involving a nursemaid in high-toned Shaughnessy Heights who had apparently died from a gunshot wound to the head. Local Point Grey police had badly bungled the investigation, and when the coroner announced a finding of accidental death, public attention was galvanized overnight. Speculation knew no bounds: two high-society men had killed the pretty young woman in a fight for

her attention, or she'd died of a drug overdose, or she'd been raped and murdered. That it was the Chinese houseboy who had found and reported the body, further muddied the waters in the racist climate of that day.

Responding to the pressure, Alexander Malcolm Manson, attorney general in B.C.'s Liberal government, ordered the provincial police to reopen the case. Because the evidence that once existed was compromised, Cruickshank, with Manson's tacit approval, hired a private detective to kidnap the houseboy and attempt to extract a confession. But this failed, and the press got wind of it. A second inquest determined that a person or persons unknown had willfully murdered Smith. Sensing a cover-up, the press and the public demanded satisfaction. The resulting scandal wrecked several careers, including that of Manson, who was refused a cabinet post when the Liberals returned to power in 1933. But good fortune was on Cruikshank's side. Thanks to the tragedy of the *Beryl G*, he was removed to a safe distance, well away from the spectre of humiliation and disgrace.

The file on Forbes Cruickshank's desk included a report from the initial inspection of the *Beryl G*. It spoke of large amounts of blood in the cabin – bloody marks suggesting that bodies had been dragged up the companionway – and a missing anchor. There were bullet holes and empty cartridges, but no guns. The only other clues were a camera containing a film with one exposed frame and a bloodstained seaman's cap. Police had processed the film and included the photo in the file. Taken from the deck of the *Beryl G*, the photo showed the stern of a boat bearing the American registration number M 493. The inspector's first task was to locate *M 493*. But with no official status in the United States, he had to work undercover.

Cruickshank crossed into the United States on a grey and misty morning in late September, an anonymous middle-aged man with a brush moustache and a military bearing. After many days of walking the Seattle docks, he found nothing and learned nothing. Then he remembered the locks connecting Lake Union with Puget Sound. The lockkeeper agreed to let him search the records, and there it was: *M 493* was a fast eighteen-metre boat, belonging to one Peter Marinoff, a.k.a Legitimate Pete. Marinoff was one of the biggest rumrunners in Tacoma, Washington, and he was willing to talk. Liquor pirates had interfered with his business long enough.

Marinoff confirmed that Gillis had gone to Rum Row on the west coast of Vancouver Island. There, in international waters, after dark on September 15, Gillis had met the supply ship *Comet* and transferred 350 cases of liquor to the *Beryl G*. Soon after that, one of Marinoff's men met Gillis in a cove on the east side of Sidney Island, taking 110 cases aboard *M 493*. When he returned for a second load the next day, Gillis was gone. That was all Marinoff's man knew, until the *Beryl G* was found adrift near Turn Point Light. Marinoff finished with a suggestion: the inspector might benefit from talking to a man called Al Clausen.

Clausen operated a service station in Seattle, but he had a more lucrative and interesting sideline. He owned a fast boat that was available for charter with no questions asked. Reluctant to talk at first, he soon responded to the inspector's questioning. Clausen recalled taking three customers into Canada on two occasions in late September. Their names were Charlie Morris, Harry (Si) Sowash, and Owen (Cannonball) Baker. On one trip, they stopped at several places in the Gulf Islands, picking up cached liquor at each location. On Pender Island, a farmer named Thorston Paulson gave them some old sacks and a bit of green paint, so they repackaged all the bottles in the sacks, marked each one with a green letter C (for Clausen), and submerged them in shallow water for later pickup. On the second trip, Baker confessed to Clausen that he'd taken the liquor from Gillis and his son.

So far Cruickshank had associated the *Beryl G* with rumrunning, found the owner of the boat in the photo, and had

BEAVER COLLECTION

By the time the *Beryl G* was found adrift in Georgia Strait, prohibition was lifting through much of Canada. The temperance movement, which had begun in the early nineteenth century to curb alcoholic consumption and the social ills that went along with it, reached its zenith in the early twentieth when provincial legislatures enacted laws that closed legal drinking establishments and forbade the sale of alcohol for beverage purposes. As social engineering, it was largely unsuccessful, and beginning in 1920 with British Columbia, the provinces began to vote "wet." In the U.S. however, prohibition was the law of the land from 1920 to 1933. The result was a flood of alcohol smuggled over the largely undefended border to Canada's "dry" neighbour.

the names of three suspects. But there was still the bloody cap. It took a lot of walking and a lot more patience, but he finally found the right store in Seattle. The clerk recalled that the customer had bragged about running booze out of Canada, and said he needed the cap as a kind of disguise. When Cruickshank showed him photographs of the suspected men, the clerk immediately recognized Owen Baker. As it happened, Baker was easily found; he was in jail, awaiting trial for bootlegging liquor to a doctor in Anacortes, a Washington seaside town. Even better, the liquor had been delivered in an old sack marked with a green letter C.

Meanwhile, back in Canada, Provincial Police sergeant Bob Owens heard some gossip about a boat called the *Denman II*. Owned by Paul Stromkins, the vessel had recently undergone extensive work on its superstructure. The work hadn't been necessary. All it accomplished was to change the way the boat looked. Before he could follow up on this lead, Owens visited Thorston Paulson on Pender Island. Willing to talk, Paulson identified Clausen, Sowash, and Baker from photos the sergeant showed him. They were the men he'd supplied with the sacks and paint. He didn't know their names, but he did know the person in a fourth photo. It was Paul Stromkins, his old friend from Manitoba.

Stromkins denied either knowing Paulson or having any connection with the *Beryl G* hijacking. But when the police arranged an "accidental" meeting between the two men in the Victoria police station, Stromkins, unnerved by the encounter, couldn't hide that he knew Paulson. Unable to stop talking, he made a statement that downplayed his involvement, while fully implicating Morris, Sowash, and Baker.

Charlie Morris was picked up in Seattle, and his extradition hearing was set for early in 1925. The other two had disappeared, and a reward of $2,000 for information leading to capture was posted. Owen Baker turned up in New York City, where he was working on a dredger as George Nolan. The New Orleans police collared Harry Sowash in a routine early morning sweep of the city streets. He was somehow able to convince them that he was a respectable citizen out for an early walk, and they let him go. But another officer, who saw Sowash leave, recognized him from the wanted poster, and the search was on. They picked him up later that same morning, trying to hitch a ride on a ship outbound for South America.

Morris was still in Seattle resisting extradition when Stromkins, Baker, and Sowash came to trial in June 1925. Stromkins, who had agreed to testify for the Crown, was freed, although he quietly indicated that he would prefer to remain in custody. (A wise choice, as he probably wouldn't have survived for long on the streets.) In court, he testified that Baker, Sowash, and Morris had boarded the *Beryl G*, where she waited at Sidney Island on the night of the murders. Morris wore the fancy seaman's cap and a brass-buttoned jacket, pretending to be a revenue agent. When Gillis resisted, Baker shot and killed him. One of them (though it was never determined who) shot the boy, but he was only wounded so they clubbed him to death at the top of the companionway. Then they dragged the bodies to the deck, handcuffed them together, and tied them to the anchor with rope. Most of their clothing was removed, and they were slit open to help them sink.

The trial lasted a week, but the jury needed only a few minutes to find Baker and Sowash guilty. Morris lost his fight against extradition and arrived in Canada on the same day his friends' death sentences were pronounced. His defense consisted solely of a claim that he'd been drinking all day before the hijacking and fell asleep as the *Denman II* left Victoria. Since he never woke up again until they were coming into Anacortes, he had no knowledge of the murders. The jury found Morris guilty anyway, and recommended mercy. The judge, who wasn't inclined to be merciful, responded with a sentence of death by hanging.

On January 14, 1926, the gallows were ready at Vancouver's Okalla Prison. As the prisoners were brought in, Owen Baker noticed Inspector Cruickshank standing among the witnesses. "Hello there, Cruickshank," he said. "Goodbye, old boy." Harry Sowash also spoke. "Goodbye there," he said. "Goodbye, boys," Cruickshank answered. Baker's final words, now muffled by the black hood over his head, were addressed to Arthur Ellis, the public hangman in B.C. for many years. "Step on her, kid. Make it quick."

Inspector Cruickshank had brought the criminals to justice, or at least most of them. After the trail, Morris's sentence was commuted to life in prison. Paul Stromkins, the only other living person who knew the whole truth about that terrible night, was free in exchange for his testimony. Still, the outcome was more than satisfactory for Cruickshank. It was a badly needed triumph after his dismal failure on the Janet Smith case, which remains unsolved to this day.

The mortal remains of Captain Gillis and his son were never found. Anything left of their bones must still be shackled to the anchor of the *Beryl G*, where it lies on the seabed near little Halibut Island. As for the *Beryl G* herself, she was sold and renamed the *Manzetta*. Early in 1929, she ran aground on a reef in Porlier Pass near Valdez Island in Georgia Strait. Nothing remained that was worth salvaging, and her life was done.

Philip Jensen is a Victoria writer who frequently sails the waters where the events in this story took place.

ET CETERA

Pass the Bottle: Rum Tales of the West Coast **by Eric Newsome. Orca Book Publishers, Victoria, B.C., 1995.**

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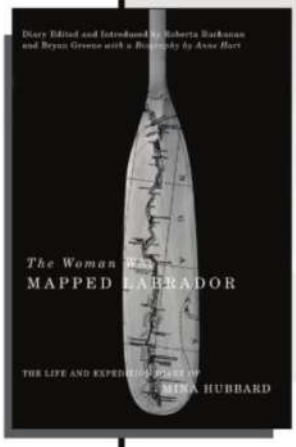

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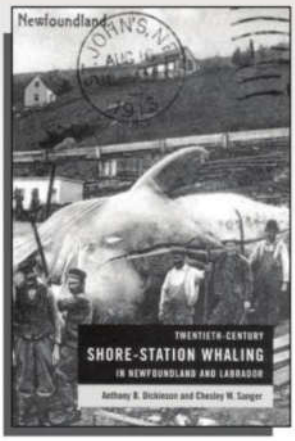

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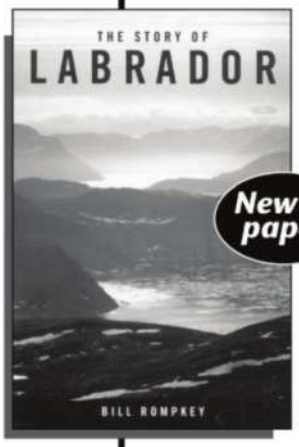

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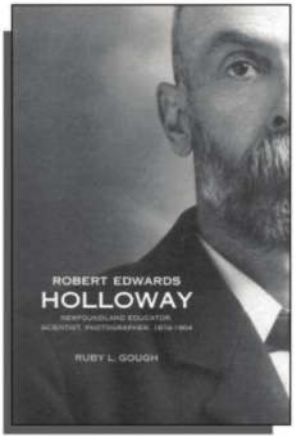

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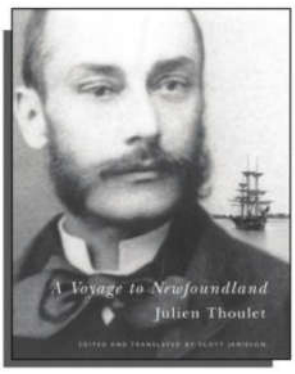

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Batteaux: Uniquely Canadian Crafts

From the days of New France until the early years of the nineteenth century, they plied the shoals and rapids of Canada's inland waterways, carrying people, freight, and military supplies. By Robert Malcomson

David Wingfield, a young officer in a Royal Navy detachment sent to Canada, beheld his first batteau when he reached the Lachine Rapids above Montreal in May 1813. He later described it as "a flat bottomed boat, peculiarly-built, and adapted to the navigation of the St. Lawrence."

Indeed, for a navy man, this was a strange craft. During his career Wingfield spent time in all kinds of vessels, from the smallest ship's boat to hundred-gun battlewagons like HMS *St. Lawrence*, launched at Kingston in 1814. All of them were constructed the same way, with a curved framework emanating from a keel, like ribs on a backbone. With planking added on the side, the vessel's hull took on a contoured shape, the nature of its bends affecting its passage through water.

A batteau was built differently. It did not have a keel. Instead, it had a flat bottom with a slight "rocker," or rising, towards its "sharp," or pointed, ends. These features, combined with the fact that it drew very little water, made the batteau ideal for negotiating the shoals and rapids of inland waterways. The original French term for the craft was *batteau plat*, or "flat boat." Though a batteau often had a single mast and square sail, it was essentially a rowboat, powered by oars, about five metres in length, pulled by three, four, or more men and "skippered" by a helmsman using a steering oar rather than a rudder. Poles, or pikes, were also used to push the boats over shallows.

Descriptions of the actual building of a batteau two or three centuries ago are rare, so it is difficult to state for certain how long it took to construct one. Given a supply of prepared lumber and a ready work force, it was possible to turn them out in quantity in a short time. A recent study has shown that contracts for up to 150 batteaux at a time were being negotiated at Quebec from 1665. During the War of 1812, Peter B. Porter of the New York State militia reported that his crews stationed at Manchester, New York, just above Niagara Falls, built forty-four large batteaux in about eight weeks during the summer of 1812. So it seems likely that a boatwright with a couple of competent assistants could put a batteau together in a matter of days.

While David Wingfield might never have seen a batteau before, flat-bottomed, sharp-ended boats had been used worldwide for centuries. The Venetian *barco*, the Malabar fishing boat, and even the "gundalos" built by American forces on Lake Champlain during the American War of

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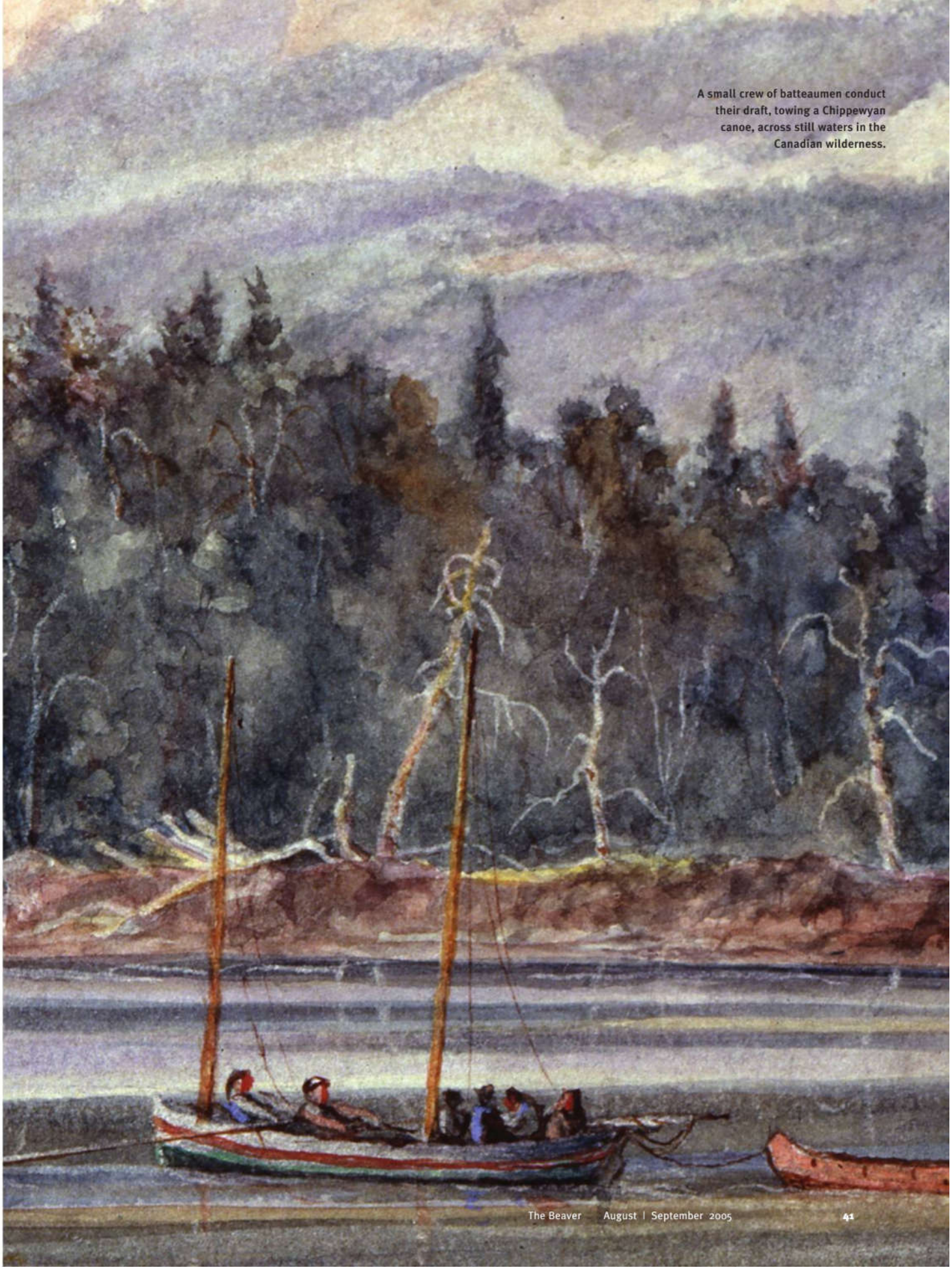

A small crew of batteaumen conduct their draft, towing a Chippewyan canoe, across still waters in the Canadian wilderness.

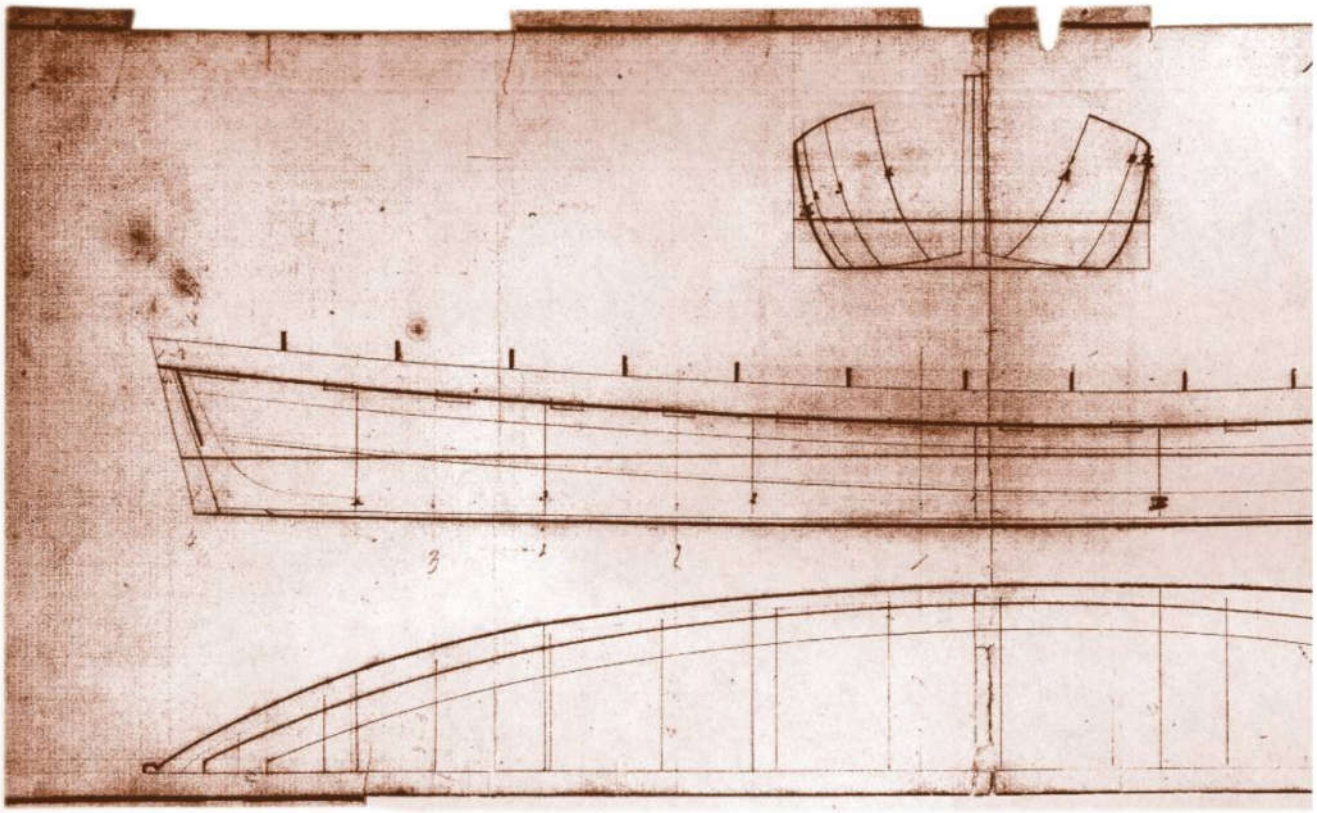

Diagram of batteau built in Kingston, Upper Canada, circa 1815. To construct, the boatwright laid out the planks of the flat bottom, then cut them and shaped them to a predetermined pattern. Narrow ribs, made in pairs, were next fastened at intervals along the bottom. Then straight timbers were attached on an angle at each end to create the stem and stern posts. Posts and ribs were fastened to each other by means of strapping and crosspieces to brace the structure so that the external planking could be nailed into place from the bottom up.

Independence (1776–1783) had flat bottoms, sharp ends, and straight sides.

As noted above, French Canadians were building batteaux by 1665. Archival documents indicate that the government ordered more than nine hundred by the end of the century and that boat-building facilities were in place to mass produce the craft. Private interests were building batteaux at the same time.

During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), British forces began using the boats during campaigns in modern-day New York State. At first the British transported men and supplies in whaleboats, which had the conventional keel-based structure. As one French officer stated, however, "[the whaleboats] are very light on the oar but are of no use navigating these rivers especially when the water is low. You often have to get into the water and haul them, and they are not made for that."

The British were soon building what they termed "Schenectady battoes" by the dozen; they were named for Schenectady, New York, the eastern terminus on the Mohawk River – a key east-west route. A typical craft was 9.75 metres long, 1.5 metres wide, .75 metres from floor to rail, and was constructed of pine. By comparison the French boats were larger (11 metres x 2 metres x .75 metres) and stronger, generally using oak for the bottoms and uprights, and fir or pine for the planking.

As Wingfield observed, the batteau was well suited to travel on the St. Lawrence River and similar waterways. It was light, easy to handle, and could carry a large amount of cargo or men. Its keelless structure made it an unwieldy sailer, but its flat bottom was a key asset, as one traveller discovered during a day on the St. Lawrence above Montreal in the mid-1790s.

"A dreadful storm arose," wrote Isaac Weld, during a journey to Upper Canada. "It was impossible now to counteract the forces of the wind with oars and the bateau [*sic*] was consequently driven on shore, but the bottom of it being quite flat, it was carried smoothly upon the beach without sustaining any injury. … A keel boat … could not have approached nearer to the shore than thirty feet and … [would] probably have been filled with water."

British inexperience in handling the batteaux and their lighter construction revealed itself in September 1760 when Major General Jeffrey Amherst's army moved down the St. Lawrence toward Montreal. On September 4, in the rapids between Coteau du Lac and Lac St. Louis, eighty-four men drowned when thirty-seven batteaux (plus seventeen whaleboats and a row galley) rolled over or broke up.

During the 1770s, a different style of batteau was under development on the eastern seaboard. Archaeological digs have uncovered batteaux near Richmond, Virginia, some of the craft ranging up to twenty-three metres in length. One

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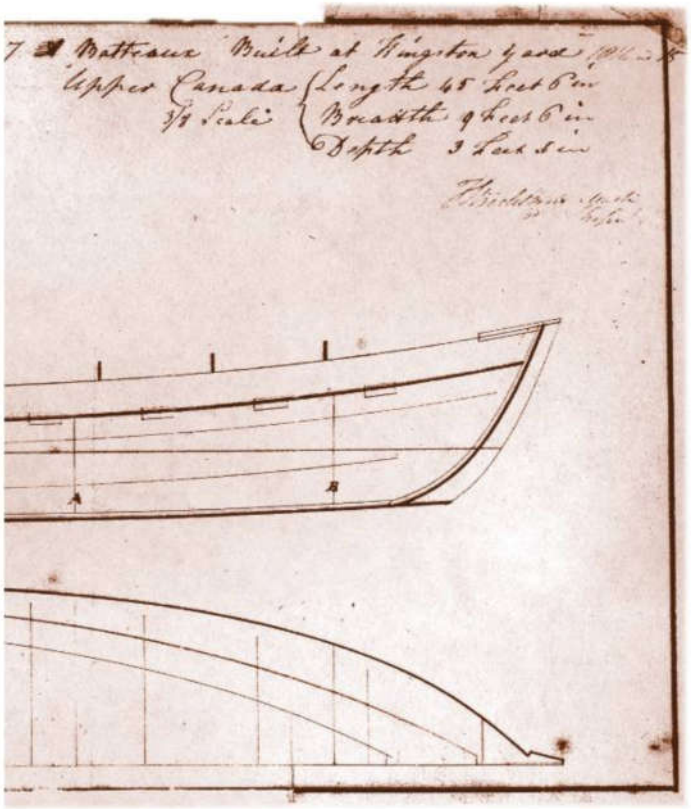

American authority has shown that Anthony Rucker launched the first of these batteaux on the James River in 1775.

When United Empire Loyalists moved into the new province of Upper Canada following the American War of Independence (1776–1783), they were reliant upon batteaux for transportation. Elizabeth Posthuma Simcoe, wife of the province's first lieutenant governor, John Graves Simcoe, wrote frequently in her diary about batteaux. She was accustomed to making long journeys in them, although she found the continual creaking and scraping of the oars annoying and much preferred the silent glide of a birchbark canoe.

Nevertheless, since there was no other efficient means for transporting small parties of travellers and their baggage and provisions, Mrs. Simcoe learned to make do with the open boats. To improve their comfort, the crews would erect an enclosure over the passengers. Elizabeth described one such arrangement as a "low awning of twisted osiers or willow whose twigs are used for making baskets, which was more convenient at this season, when the weather becomes cold, than the high wooden awnings."

Sometimes on a downriver trip, when the current provided adequate propulsion, the noisy oars could be set aside and, as Elizabeth noted, "the Canadians are so accustomed to the navigation that with empty boats the man who steers is often the only one awake."

If the wind was right the oarsmen took a break again, and Mrs. Simcoe could enjoy "delightful sailing." And, if suitable accommodations could not be found on shore, then the batteau could be transformed into temporary lodging. In July 1796, while heading down the St. Lawrence River, Elizabeth wrote, "We placed the beds on the trunks in one of the batteaux, which was covered with a [oiled] sail cloth over the awning. We slept extremely well and so cool that we determined to keep that batteau so fitted up for the rest of the voyage rather than go into houses."

The main use of batteaux, as well as larger, flat-bottomed Durham boats, scows, and rafts, was for the transportation of freight, however. Depending on their size, they were capable of carrying two, three, or four tons of goods. The records of the decades around 1800 detail their cartage of countless barrels of flour, potash, and rum; puncheons of "carrot tobacco"; hogsheads of "canary wine" from Tenerife; and chests of tea from the Bohea Hills in China.

On occasion, batteaumen were tempted to dip into certain elements of the cargo under their care, as Richard Cartwright, a prominent Kingston merchant, reported in August 1799. "In Boat 39 I found a Bbl of Mr. [John] Blackers [*sic*] Spirits that had a Spoil-hole apparently made with a Nail. The Wantage however did not exceed a Gallon; and the Liquor appears unadulterated. The men," Cartwright informed their employer, "have had 17 loaves Bread 12/9 & 5/2 lb. Pork 3/8, at your Debit."

Hundreds of privately owned batteaux were in constant use from early spring until late fall on the lakes and rivers of the northern states and the provinces, but the American and British governments had their flotillas in operation as well. At the outbreak of war in 1812, the British army listed 263 batteaux in operation between St. Joseph Island on Lake Huron and Quebec. This number increased manyfold during the hostilities as the boats moved men, materiel, and provisions to and from the war front. Similar to modern landing craft, batteaux frequently went into battle. Thirty batteaux were employed when the British landed a force to attack Sackets Harbor late in May 1813, and when Major General James Wilkinson sailed down the St. Lawrence for his ill-fated expedition against Montreal, his 7,300-man army travelled in more than three hundred batteaux and anything else that would float.

The return of peace in 1815 sounded the death knell for widespread batteau use, as the number and size of merchant sailing vessels increased. The advent of steam made it possible to transport merchandise and passengers in larger bottoms than the batteaux offered. Although they remained a common sight through the 1800s, their heyday had passed.

In recent years, the building and operation of batteaux has become a pastime for historic-boat builders and reenactors. During summer festivals, batteaux are apt to be seen again, powered by enthusiastic crews whose goal is to remind everyone of the early days of travel on Canadian waterways.

Robert Malcomson lives in St. Catharines, Ontario. His latest book, *An Historical Dictionary of the War of 1812*, will be published by Scarecrow Press late in 2005.

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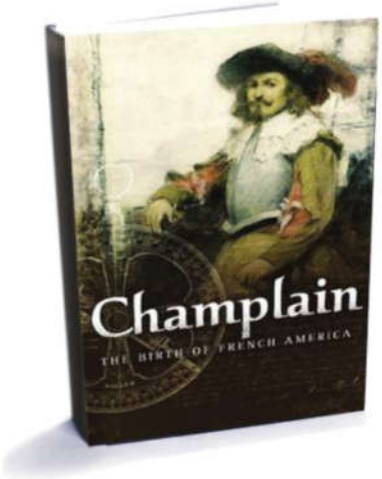

Champlain: The Birth of French America
Edited by Raymonde Litalien and Denis Vaugeois. Translated from the original French edition by Kathe Roth.
McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, 2004
412 pp., illus., $89.00 hardcover

1608 AND ALL THAT

What an odd book this is. A copiously illustrated, oversized volume of some four hundred pages, with three dozen essays by academics in North America and Europe; in packaging and promotion it clearly imagines a general reader. But it is surprisingly disinterested in providing a coherent answer to the question of greatest interest to that reader, not to mention to educators and (I would hope) other academics: Who was Champlain?

There are certainly essays of interest. To name a few: Robert Larocque's investigation of pathogens among native populations is a CSI mystery for the historical crowd. Conrad Heidenreich and Edward Dahl are the best people around to get the job done of explaining the nature and significance of Champlain's cartography and his surveying and navigation methods, and impart some useful biographical clues along the way. Cornelius Jaenen's "Champlain and the Dutch" does such an important job of plugging Dutch merchants and financiers into French trade monopolies that one has to wonder how other essayists overlooked the obvious significance of these money men in their overlapping subject areas. And Denis Martin's closing essay, "Discovering the Face of Samuel de Champlain," is a note-perfect example of how to be learned, insightful, and highly readable.

What this sprawling book lacks is (of all things) the touch of a biographer. The back jacket copy promises to offer "new insights" and raise "new questions" about Champlain. On the contrary, it has a curious instinct for the peripheral, staking out territory in the thematic margins (doubtless where many contributors have been tilling quarter sections most dear to them) instead of plunging into the turbulent core. It doesn't seem to be sure of who its subject matter actually was, and is more concerned with delivering information, however esoteric, on Champlain's times rather than on his life. The same back jacket copy breathlessly describes him as a "self-trained freebooting adventurer with a great knowledge of science," a brave if peculiar characterization for which the book itself provides no real evidence and in fact mostly contradicts.

Just one solid overview of his life (a timeline doesn't count), drawing together the threads of current (and fresh) thinking, would have worked wonders in orienting the reader and instilling discipline on the overall content. The introductory essay by coeditor Raymonde Litalien actually does a good job of raising many interesting subjects that cry out for their own essays. But then her own book essentially walks away from them. Champlain's origins, his family, his education, and his military career, which will probably always demand informed speculation, deserve major essays and should not be the subjects only of sidelong glances and footnotes in the midst of other essays of secondary importance. Some of those glances are useful, but they're hardly

innovative. And they're so disparate, and located in such nonintuitive places, that the reader will have to read the entire volume to chase them all down, then sort out the sparely measured details for themselves and decide which contributor to believe.

It is a jaw-dropping oversight not to have devoted any space (beyond half a paragraph in the essay "Samuel de Champlain and Religion" and the odd sentence here and there) to his marriage to twelve-year-old Hélène Boullé. A book whose jacket copy promises to take some bold biographical positions at the least should be exploring properly this strange and sad (and assuredly politically motivated) union. This would have provided enormous, if at times uncomfortable "new insights" into Champlain's character, extended family, and era. And while Patrice Groulx's "In the Shoes of Samuel de Champlain" ably discusses how past efforts to celebrate the man were burdened by sociopolitical agendas and heroic mythmaking, this volume's Champlain too often remains trapped in the old hagiography, confined to the nested boxes of nationalism and founding-fatherism.

Many of the essays will serve as useful references for students and others concerned with the early history of New France. But some of the content is too academic in tone and temperament. There should be far fewer scholarly spats, particularly where one side isn't being heard from and the reader doesn't have the full scoop on what set off the donnybrook. And one essay unforgivably showcases four untranslated excerpts from freshly unearthed Spanish documents, without explaining their significance. Hands up everyone who can choke down whole paragraphs of seventeenth-century Spanish. *No mas.*

A team of academics, independently contributing essays of narrow focus, can create a satisfying and readable whole – see the enjoyable and informative two-volume *Meta Incognita: A Discourse on Discovery*, on Martin Frobisher's exploration and mining (mis)adventures in the Canadian Arctic. Essayists cannot be allowed to address the same core materials to the point of exhaustion – in this book's case, there are too many visits to the basic details of the trade monopolies with which Champlain was associated. And especially not when the overall content isn't taking a really close, critical look at the man in the title. As the sum of its sometimes intriguing parts, this volume would be better entitled *Champlain Incognita.*

Reviewed by **Douglas Hunter**, who lives in Huronia, Ontario. He is working on a book about the exploration rivalry between Champlain and Henry Hudson.

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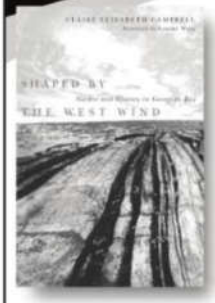
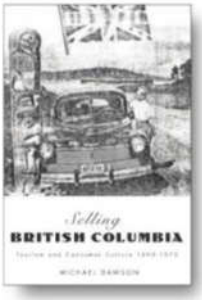


Shaped by the West Wind
Nature and History in Georgian Bay
Claire Elizabeth Campbell
294 pages, illus.
pb $29.95
ISBN 0-7748-1099-8

Along the east shore of Ontario's Georgian Bay lie the Thirty Thousand Islands, a granite archipelago scarred by glaciers, where the white pines cling to the ancient rock, twisted and bent by the west wind – a symbol of a region where human history has been shaped by the natural environment. *Shaped by the West Wind* traces the fascinating history of Canadians' reactions to and interactions with this distinctive and often intractable landscape.



Selling British Columbia
Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890–1970
Michael Dawson
292 pages, illus.
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Selling British Columbia is an entertaining examination of the development of the tourist industry in British Columbia between 1890 and 1970. Dawson draws upon promotional pamphlets, newspapers, advertisements, and films to show how cultural producers and tourism promoters played important roles in fostering the consumer culture that emerged in Canada after the Second World War.

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Dancing Backwards: A Social History of Women in Canadian Politics
by Sharon Carstairs and Tim Higgins
Heartland Publications, Winnipeg, 2004
351 pp., illus., $26.95 paper

GINGERLY

Dancing Backwards is a story choreographed with gentle grace and a sharp wit. Fortunately for the reader, each of the authors has a touch of dramatic flair in addition to their knowledge of history. Currently government leader in the Senate, Sharon Carstairs started out as a history teacher before becoming leader of the Manitoba Liberal Party in 1984. A passionate feminist and principled politician, Carstairs is a perfect lead in *Dancing Backwards*, due in part to her political notoriety. Coauthor Tim Higgins, whose television-writing credits include historical documentaries, demonstrates a meticulous style as Carstairs's storytelling partner. And so, yes, the pairing of Carstairs and Higgins, as the title suggests, is an entertaining act.

Happily, *Dancing Backwards* does not follow the formulaic steps that have guided many biographic compilations of women in Canadian history. It does not, for example, turn a brief spotlight on an individual in order to teach us the details of her birth and then summarize her accomplishments. Rather, this book treats the elements of science, social progress, psychology, and war as instruments in women's struggle for equity in politics. *Dancing Backwards* creates a dramatic ensemble with its stories, showing readers life as it was when Nellie McClung and later, Thérèse Casgrain, and later still, Kim Campbell, danced upon the Canadian political stage.

The result is that women's political battles are understood as part of a complex and often contradictory context. For example, it is still widely believed that early twentieth-century feminists set out to deny the franchise to "undesirable aliens" and that in so doing, revealed that they were simply racist. As *Dancing Backwards* reminds us, the entire country was mired in controversy over conscription during World War I, and the issue of extending the franchise to persons who were not male British subjects was mired in the racial bigotry of men and women alike.

Higgins and Carstairs go on to credit the successful lobby for women's labour and legal rights as the reason Prime Minister Robert Borden held a women's war conference in 1918. It was the first time, according to the authors, that a prime minister bothered to ask women what they thought.

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The stronger section of the book is the pre-1950 segments on notable political figures. The stories of more recent female politicians, such as Rosemary Brown, the first black member of a legislature, who was elected in B.C., or former Liberal party leadership contender Sheila Copps, are better told elsewhere, in the politicians' own words.

Dancing Backwards gets its title from a quote by Anne Richards, the former governor of Texas, who once observed, "Being a woman in politics is like being Ginger Rogers. You have to do all the same dance steps as Fred Astaire, but you have to do them backwards and in high heels."

Today, female politicians are rarely allowed to lead on the political stage, a fact that makes me wish that every male political leader in Canada could be forced to dance backwards in high heels, just to get a feel for how the other half lives.

On second thought, they would likely gain more insight by reading this book.

Reviewed by **Penni Mitchell**, managing editor of *Herizons* magazine.

More Books

Fashion: A Canadian Perspective
edited by Alexandra Palmer

"Canadian fashion" seems oxymoronic, but, yes, Virginia, there is Canadian fashion, and it even has a history, as the contributors to this collection of essays diligently recount. The blanket coat, with roots in the French capote, may be the most readily identifiable Canadian costume, but Canadian fashion otherwise is a tale of absorption in, or reaction to, international trends while at the same time being criticized for either being too provincial or not Canadian enough – a familiar cultural conundrum. *Fashion* reports on the nitty-grittier elements of fashion – the historic struggles of garment industry workers, for instance – but it is at its most engaging when it reflects on the contention surrounding reform in women's dress. *Fashion* is scholarly and touches on a subject rarely academically addressed, but for all that, a few more pictures would have been nice.
University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2004. 382 pp., $35.00 paper

Terry
by Douglas Coupland

The young man who captured Canadians' imaginations when he began a cross-Canada run twenty-five years ago to raise money for research into cancer, the disease that cost him a leg, and eventually his life, is here captured in novelist Douglas Coupland's characteristic "Souvenir of Canada" art-book style – a collection of memorabilia, prosaic in other circumstances, but in the context of the Marathon of Hope, iconic and strangely moving. *Terry* attempts no analysis of the phenomenon that Terry Fox became in life and aftermath. Perhaps it's still too big and too fresh for thinkers to approach dispassionately. But as a retelling it succeeds. Some of the touchstones of his life presented in this book – hockey sticks, hamburgers, high school – are the touchstones of a generation. Today, had he lived, Terry Fox would be a forty-seven-year-old Baby Boomer. In another world, this might have been the souvenir album of a remarkable, but unknown, youth.
Douglas &McIntyre, Toronto, 2005. 176 pp., illus., $28.95 paper

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Christopher Moore

What Political Science Knows About Canadian Democracy

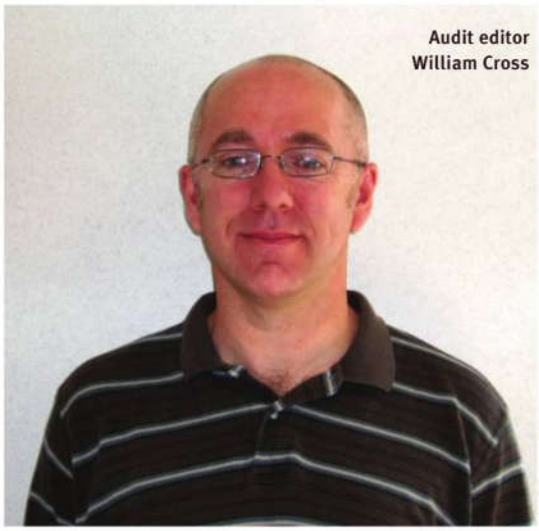
Over the years, the political scientists I've known have always impressed me with their knowledge and passion for Canada's politics and Canadian democracy. The discipline of political science itself – not so much.

Modern political science is wedded to statistical techniques and survey data, and it is sophisticated in gathering and handling that kind of information. But, with such a big hammer to swing, everything that's not a nail becomes a nuisance. Aspects of politics that don't respond well to polling seem not to get the care and attention that the discipline applies to what's countable. When Michael Bliss described the findings of an exhaustive political-science analysis of one Canadian federal election as ranging "from the trivial to the incomprehensible," I was chagrined for the old roommate of mine who was one of the principal authors, but I knew how my fellow historian felt.

Some of that ambivalence returned as I read the Canadian Democratic Audit, one of the most interesting and accessible examples of what Canadian political science does well, and maybe not so well.

Everybody complains about democracy. The Canadian Democratic Audit proposes to do something about it. The CDA, an ambitious ten-book publishing project of UBC Press and the Centre for Canadian Studies at Mount Allison University, sets out to "audit" our Canadian institutions to determine how participatory, how responsive, and how inclusive they are, and what needs fixing.

This auditing-democracy idea came to William Cross of Mount Allison in 2000, after a Danish colleague described a similar project. "At the time, we were seeing lots of concern from citizens and commentators about the 'democratic deficit,'" recalls Cross, "and of course it has continued ever since." He quickly sold Emily Andrew of UBC Press on the idea and set about recruiting a team of political science professors from around the country. "No one turned us down."



Audit editor William Cross

Since last year, the CDA has been issuing volumes on elections, legislatures, political parties, and other elements of our democratic process. "Not just institutions," says Cross. "It's about citizens and how they participate." So there are also titles on citizens, advocacy groups, even communications technology (the last still unpublished when I wrote this).

How does the Democratic Audit itself stand up to its own auditing criteria? The CDA promises to test Canadian democratic practices against standards of participation, responsiveness, and inclusiveness. Its books certainly welcome readership; they are compact, well designed, well organized, and easy to "use" – certainly some of the most accessible works of academic political science we've seen in years. Despite the range of topics, each author manages to return to a series of report-card-style assessments based on the prearranged audit standards.

Participation? Inclusiveness? All the participants are credentialed academics, and there's not yet much place in the Audit for citizen participation or feedback. The project's website <www.CanadianDemocraticAudit.ca> promotes the series but invites no interaction with its ideas. ("We'd like to; we just have not had the resources," says Cross). The audit project, one might say, has some of the top-down qualities it finds still too common in Canadian democracy.

Political scientists carry constitutional-reform schemes in their backpacks the way all Napoleon's soldiers were said to carry marshal's batons. Several of the authors use the Audit to advance their own pet schemes. David Docherty (*Legislatures*) says we need more politicians in all our legislatures, Jennifer Smith (*Federalism*) is sure an elected Senate is indispensable, and where William Cross (*Political Parties*) advocates proportional representation, John Courtney (*Elections*) thinks we need to hold back.

These are all respectable arguments, worth debating at least. But it is precisely here that the empirical, statistics-driven science of political science causes trouble. Talking of democracy

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and considering what makes for good, just, and equitable governance, we swim in deep philosophical waters. But philosophy is not scientific; instead of Locke or Mill or John Rawls, political science prefers to offer another statistical chart. The Audit's authors, particular in *Citizens*, express alarm at ordinary Canadians' ignorance of politics and political concepts. But too often here we get some new polling data and an "everybody knows" assertion that cries out for more rigorous reflection: that representative democracy is "elitist" (*Federalism*); that parliamentary systems preclude strong, independent representatives (*Legislatures*).

If there is too little political philosophy in political science, there is not much history either. To the extent that the CDA authors cite Canadians' historical experience with governance and democracy, it is mostly to reassure us that every day in every way, we have been getting better and better. But I don't think we should blame the political scientists for their inability to believe that there is a Canadian political tradition worth giving respectful attention. Mostly our historians don't believe that either.

William Cross and his colleagues in the Canadian Democratic Audit are on to something important. Canadians are concerned, and interested, too, about the state of how we govern ourselves. And if the CDA doesn't answer all the questions, at least it helps raise most of them.

Finally, how does Canadian democracy score with the auditors? There's no letter grade, but "room for improvement" might sum it up. Given the series' ruling presumption that change is good (and always productive of fresh data), that's to be expected. The CDA offers many options for change, but maybe there's some reassurance that the foundations are not crumbling.

The Canadian Democratic Audit will eventually comprise ten books, including a summary volume. Most are already published by University of British Columbia Press and widely available. The series was recently awarded a special citation from the Donner Canadian Foundation.

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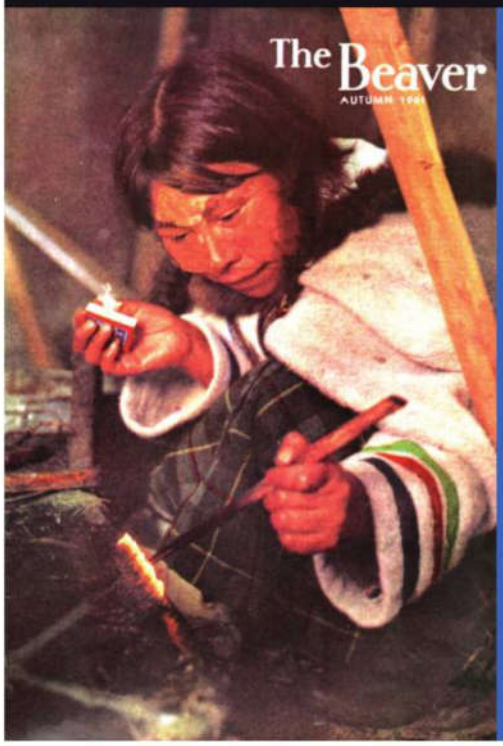

The Way We Were
On its 85th birthday, the *Beaver* revisits its own history as a unique Canadian publication, looks at themes it has covered, and introduces a selection of exceptional illustrations from the past.

Crime, No Punishment
How Montreal Freemason Ludger Larose took on the Church, and lost.
BY ALISON LONGSTAFF

Plus! A New Look
The Beaver launches a fresh design – a lively, eye-catching cover with bold illustrations and graphics inside that honour and reinvigorate the rich tradition of the magazine.

Agricultural writer E. Cora Hind gleaned her world-famous ability to forecast crop yields the hard way – by striding into the fields. Christopher Dafoe admires her perspicacity and her love for the new old West.

Once encountered, E. Cora Hind was impossible to forget. I met her just once, when I was five, and my memory of the event remains vivid after over sixty years. It was 1941, and Miss Hind and my aunt Marcella were rolling bandages for the Red Cross when I wandered into the room. The world famous "oracle of wheat" looked at me sternly through her pince-nez, and for a moment I thought she was going to give me a smack. Then a frosty smile danced across her lips, and she handed me a humbug wrapped in cellophane. I realized instinctively that I had just met a remarkable woman.

E. Cora Hind (the "E" stood for "Ella," a name she disliked and never used) was a formidable example of a fascinating type, once fairly common in the world but now seldom encountered – the self-educated expert or autodidactic "genius."

Born in Toronto in 1861, she was orphaned as an infant and grew up on her grandfather's farm in Grey County, Ontario. She was educated at home and at the local high school, leaving without a certificate, having failed algebra. In 1882 Cora and her Aunt Alice settled in the booming frontier city of Winnipeg where her aunt set up as a dressmaker. Firmly ignoring suggestions that she take up school teaching, Miss Hind applied for a job on a local paper, the *Free Press*. The editor, W.F. Luxton, let her down gently. A newspaper was no place for a woman.

E. Cora Hind was disappointed but not downcast. Typewriters were new in Winnipeg and she bought one, teaching herself to type at speed, using the two-finger method. She got a job in the law office of Hugh John Macdonald, son of the prime minister, meeting and chatting with many of his farmer clients. She asked questions about crops and growing conditions. She examined samples of grain. She remembered everything she heard, and learned something every day.

She began to contribute occasional unsigned articles on livestock production, grain growing, and social issues to the papers and kept busy with work for the Women's Christian Temperance Union, female suffrage, and social reform. She was a feminist and in solidarity with the "New Woman" of the period, remarking once, with a grim smile, "If members of my sex appear at times to be inadequate, it must be because a wise God created them to match the men."

In 1893 she set up her own "public stenography" business, developing contacts at the Grain Exchange and out on the rapidly expanding farmlands of the West. She did secretarial work for farm organizations, always learning and asking questions, gradually becoming an expert. Soon farm organizations were coming to her for agricultural information.

In October 1898, at the request of Colonel J.B. Maclean of Maclean's Publications in Toronto, Miss Hind toured the grain-growing regions of the West to survey the wheat crop. It was the first of the many crop surveys that would make her name.

When my grandfather, John W. Dafoe, took over as editor of the *Manitoba Free Press* in 1901, Miss Hind was offered and accepted the position of

ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA N978

agricultural editor. She was forty and would remain with the paper for the rest of her life.

In the summer of 1904 E. Cora Hind performed her first great "miracle." Speculators in Chicago were spreading rumours that the Canadian wheat crop was a bust, reduced by black rust to a mere 35 million bushels. Cora set out in late July to find out for herself. A fellow journalist later recalled: "She would drive a couple of hundred miles a day and climb through 50 fences. And she could estimate a crop by looking at it from within the field." She returned to Winnipeg in August predicting a crop of 55 million bushels. The official figure, when all had been gathered in, was 54 million. Next year she predicted 85 million, the crop coming in at 84,506,857. And so it went, year after year. This uncanny ability to seemingly hold the entire Canadian wheat crop in the palm of her hand made her famous around the world, but she was far more than Winnipeg's Oracle of Wheat: She became an expert on all aspects of farming and a tireless seeker after new ways to improve Canadian agriculture and the lives and fortunes of farmers.

When wheat was first shipped from the Port of Churchill, Manitoba, in 1932, Miss Hind, accompanied by 268,000 bushels of western Canadian grain, set off on the Italian ship *Juventus* bound for Bristol, knitting socks for the captain during the voyage and, although a long-time member of the WCTU, drinking a toast in wine to the memory of Christopher Columbus. In England she was greeted as a visiting celebrity, interviewed by *The Times* and other important papers, and made much of as she toured the country impressing everybody with her knowledge and wit.

In the late 1930s her paper sent her on a two-year world tour. She visited twenty-seven countries, reporting on agricultural conditions from areas as far afield as China, India, and the Soviet Union, returning with a warning about the future of Canadian farm exports in an increasingly competitive world. It was to be her last great adventure.

She died in 1942 at the age of eighty-one, her death mourned at home and noted with regret around the world. She had written her own epitaph years before: "Those of us of the old new West who have been privileged to travel the prairie trails in summer heat and winter cold, in the awakening beauty of the springtime, the promise of summer, and the golden fulfillment of autumn, when we set out alone on 'the longest trail of all' will 'go west' with great content if the soft southwest wind brings to us the tang of wild sage and the prairie roses, of the beat of a thousand hooves as the herds go down to water, or the sibilant sigh of the wind through miles of ripening wheat." She was buried in October with the harvest safely in.

Christopher Dafoe was editor of the *Beaver* from 1985 to 1997. His book *Heart of the Continent*, a history of Winnipeg, won the Manitoba Historical Society's Margaret McWilliams medal in 1999.

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- Jock Murray, Professor, Medical Humanities Program, Dalhousie University

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The Guess Who, from left, Garry Peterson, Burton Cummings, Randy Bachman, and Jim Kale with their first hit single, 1968's "These Eyes."

COURTESY JOHN EMERSON

Prairie Rock

Driving home from my office recently, I was channel surfing the car radio when I caught a station playing one of my favourite Guess Who songs, "Heartbroken Bopper." It's a gritty rocker, with wailing guitar riffs and a catchy choral refrain. Not one of the band's mega hits, but it trolled the pop charts for a while in the early '70s.

"Heartbroken Bopper" was post–Randy Bachman Guess Who. Kurt Winter was by then chief axe man. The band's glory days as chart-toppers were behind them, but it was still a global force in rock 'n' roll circles.

Novelists and poets are touted as the artists who give us identity, create historical mythology, and tell our stories to the world. True enough. But for those of a certain vintage, in late '60s Winnipeg, it was rock 'n' roll that legitimized our hometown.

Early Guess Who albums with titles like *Wheatfield Soul* and *Canned Wheat*, and cuts titled "Maple Fudge," were tongue-slightly-in-cheek tributes to their prairie and Canadian roots. The band even gave local urban geography a stellar turn. Their 1971 album *So Long, Bannatyne* incorporated a Winnipeg street into its title. Two, actually. The album's full title was *So Long, Bannatyne – Hello, My Chevrier Home*, thereby celebrating both ends of town – downtown's Bannatyne Avenue and south-suburban Chevrier Boulevard.

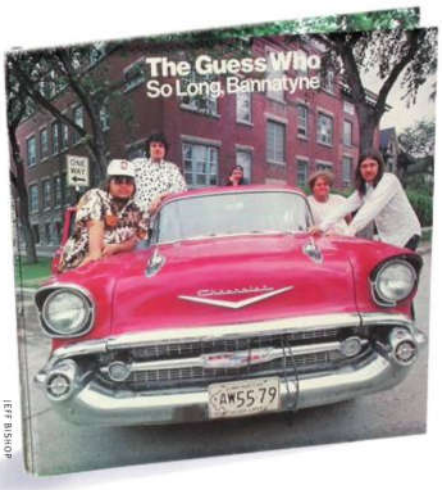
When their lyrics regarded the larger world, represented by the geopolitical giant next door – think "American Woman" with its disdain for "your war machine" and "ghetto scenes," or "Running Back to Saskatoon" with its refrains of "this tune is home grown" and "sing another prairie tune" – it was through the eyes of a bunch of north-of-the-border boys only too happy not to be cosmopolitan Yankees.

When the Guess Who started out in the mid-1960s, the rock 'n' roll universe was America and England. Dull, unhip Canada – let alone prairie oasis Winnipeg – didn't produce music kids grooved on. Rock was an import commodity. And if you wanted to make it in the music biz, you sprinted as fast as you could to New York or Los Angeles. (Not necessarily a bad plan. It worked for Winnipeg high-school dropout Neil Young.)

As for singing about Winnipeg or the prairies – inconceivable. The last thing rockers wanted to do pre–Guess Who was celebrate Canadiana. Lyrics about our home and native land held as much allure as lyrics about accounting. Bands deliberately Americanized, or later Anglicized, their music. It took the Guess Who to make Canada a *real place*.

Which leads me back to "Heartbroken Bopper." The tune enjoyed only fair-to-middling commercial success. But it was later included in the band's 1972 album, *Rockin'*.

On that album's inside-cover cred-



JEFF BISHOP

its, there was a mysterious thank you to "the Clonardians." I loved it.

More than a few years later, I became friends with a diehard Guess Who fan who hailed from northwestern Ontario. One evening at his apartment he put *Rockin'* on the turntable. While looking at the cover, I asked him if he'd ever wondered who "the Clonardians" were. He said he thought it was a jokey allusion to space aliens, since it sounded sci-fi and extraterrestrial.

"Clonardians" is a joke all right. But it's a Winnipeg inside joke. A joke got to this day only by a handful of kids from the south Winnipeg suburb of St. Vital. "Clonardians" refers to the street I grew up on – Clonard Avenue.

Both bass player Jim Kale and the band's pre–Burton Cummings keyboardist Bob Ashley also grew up on that street. The Ashleys were, in fact, our next-door neighbours. They had a main floor "piano room" that was convenient for the band to practise in. From my basement bedroom I often listened to the band rehearse. Back then it was Kale, Ashley, Garry Peterson, Randy Bachman, and Chad Allen. Their repertoire included "Shakin' All Over" and "Tribute to Buddy Holly," along with a lot of eminently forgettable rockabilly and proto-garage-band stuff.

Clonard Avenue never attained the rock 'n' roll cachet of London's Abbey Road due to the Beatles, or Memphis's Beale Street courtesy of Elvis, Jerry Lee Lewis, and Carl Perkins. But when you're a kid, and your street is mentioned in the album liner notes of one of the world's premier rock 'n' roll bands, that's big-time cultural validation of your little corner of the planet.

Later, in university, novelists, historians, and other mainstream contributors to the cultural landscape provided a more sophisticated sense of city and province. Writers like Margaret Laurence, Adele Wiseman, Rudy Wiebe, and James Reaney, and historians W. L. Morton and Alan Artibise, defined the perimeters, imaginatively and historically.

But the Guess Who first gave Winnipeg a place in the sun.

Douglas J. Johnston is a Winnipeg lawyer and writer.

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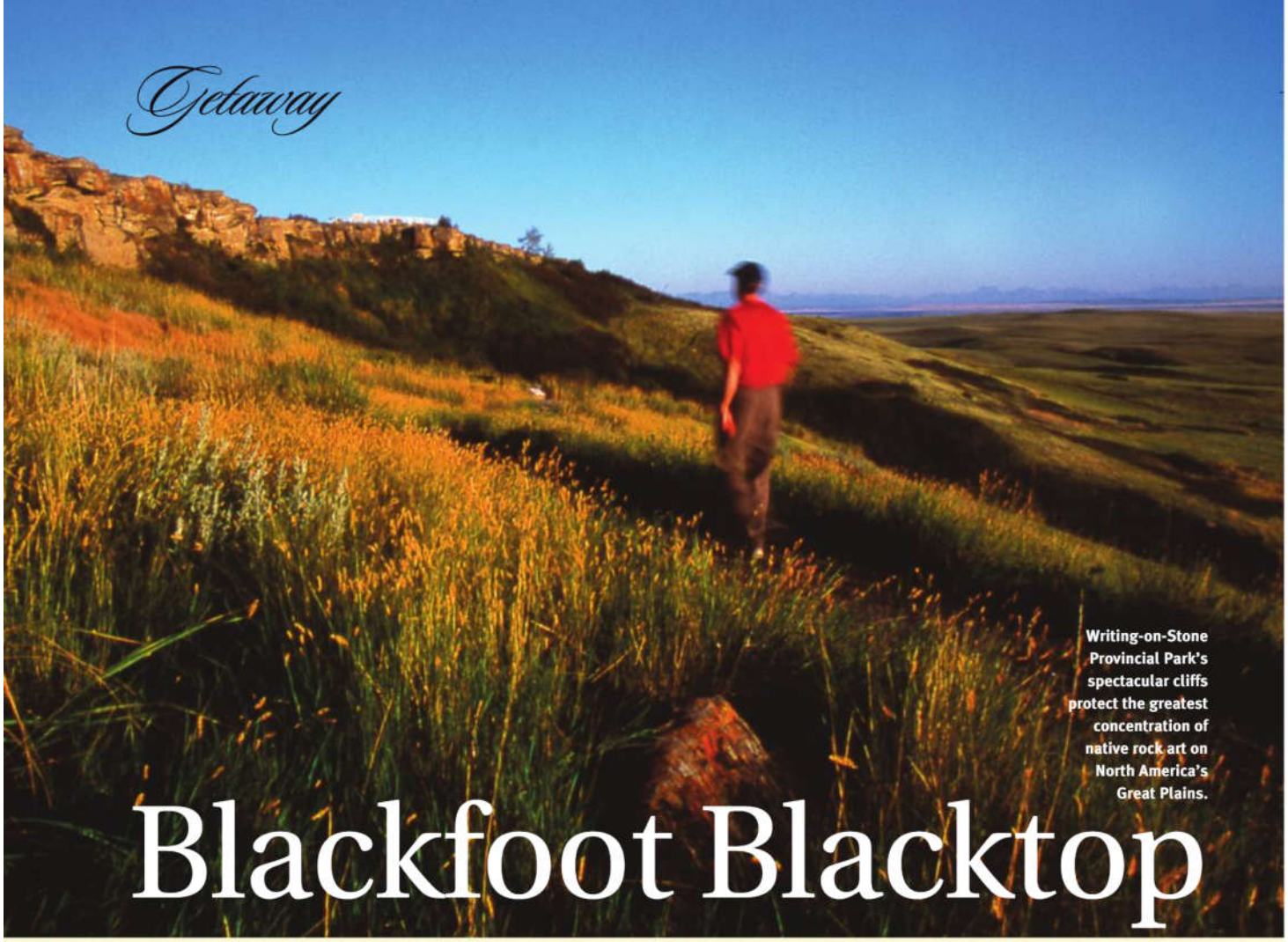


Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park's spectacular cliffs protect the greatest concentration of native rock art on North America's Great Plains.

Blackfoot Blacktop

South of Calgary, where some of the first people may have penetrated the New World after the last Ice Age, the terrain transitions from mountain to plain to badland. As Bill Corbett discovers, it's a place where the flavour of the world before recorded time is powerful.

Alberta is celebrating its 100th anniversary in 2005 as one of Canada's youngest provinces. But dig through a few metres of southern Alberta prairie soil, and you'll unearth a sophisticated human history stretching back more than six thousand years.

The Blackfoot Confederacy – comprising the Peigan (Piikani), Blackfoot (Siksika), and Blood (Kainaiwa) nations – has been a fixture on the southern Alberta plains almost since the continental glaciers receded. Much of its rich history can be traced on this looping tour from Calgary to near the Montana border, mostly on uncrowded, divided freeways and on the finest secondary highways in Canada.

For a good overview, head to Calgary's Glenbow Museum, the largest museum in western Canada. Its renowned Blackfoot collection features magnificent tipis, intricately embroidered shirts, painted robes, bone tools, and illustrated "calendars," used to record events. Follow an aboriginal guide through the Nitsitapiisinni ("our way of life") Gallery, which tells the story of the Blackfoot Confederacy, from its creation by Napi (Old Man) to the present.

BILL CORBETT

The Blackfoot once ruled Alberta's southern plains so completely that nineteenth-century explorers and fur traders sought safer passage through the Rocky Mountains. Beyond the warrior image, however, was a complex, nomadic society, where women organized a camp life complete with social dances and children's games.

Less than two hours south of Calgary, at the southern edge of the Porcupine Hills, is the wonderfully named Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, which refers to a young hunter crushed under a falling tonnage of bison. A UNESCO World Heritage Site, it is one of the oldest, largest, and best-preserved buffalo jumps in North America, which archaeological excavation reveals was in use for more than 5,600 years.

GLENBOW MUSEUM

The Nitsitapiisinni Gallery in Calgary's Glenbow Museum

Despite these impressive credentials, Head-Smashed-In is all about subtlety. It begins with a $10-million interpretive centre, built to sensitively blend into the hillside.

For the buffalo, it ended with a mere ten-metre sandstone cliff. The trick was for hunters to have the organizational skills to lure these poor-sighted, mammoth creatures into an unstoppable stampede over the brink. Below, the remaining tribe members waited to dispatch wounded animals and convert carcasses into meat, robes, tools, and spiritual objects.

Learn more about this complex society in the five-level interpretive centre, perhaps accompanied by a Peigan guide. During the summer, visitors can attend powwows (native dancing and drumming competitions), go on archaeological tours, or spend a night in a traditional tipi overlooking the rolling plains.

The final stop on this tour is another hyphenated gem, Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park, on the southern Alberta plains within sight of the purple haze of Montana's Sweetgrass Hills. The entrance into Writing-on-Stone is one of Alberta's grand scenes – intricate, weather-sculpted rock columns known as hoodoos, offset by the lazy meanders of the opaque Milk River.

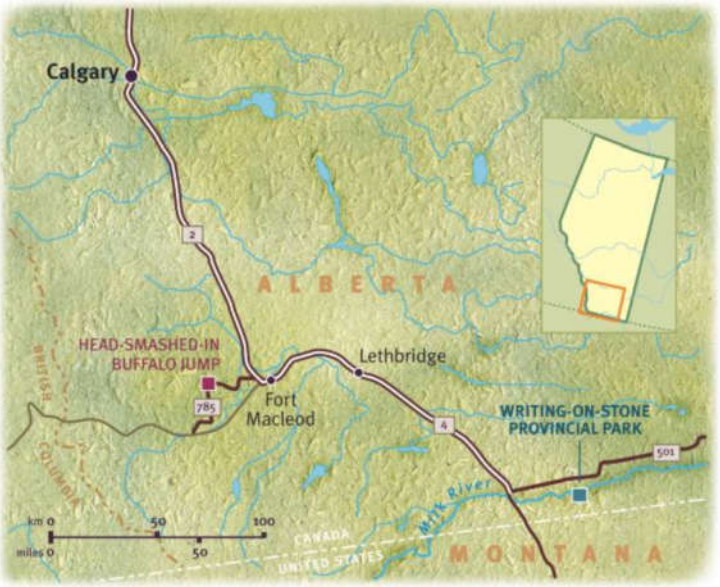
For some three thousand years, the Milk River Valley offered the Blackfoot shelter, food, and water. The soft hoodoos also provided a sandstone canvas for recording visions and important events. Writing-on-Stone protects the greatest concentration of native rock art on North America's Great Plains, with hundreds of petroglyphs (carvings) and pictographs (paintings).

The most condensed rock-art sites in the park can only be seen by taking a ninety-minute tour with a park interpreter. But the single most impressive work – an elaborate battle scene, featuring more than 250 characters – can be viewed at the far end of the 2.5-kilometre Hoodoo Interpretive Trail, a superb walk through hoodoos above the river. In midsummer, take plenty of water; in this sandstone oven, even the rattlesnakes shed their skin.

Across the river is a reconstructed North-West Mounted Police outpost, originally built in the 1880s to combat U.S. whisky traders. By then, the combined effects of alcohol, European smallpox, and decimation of the vast buffalo herds had effectively ended the Blackfoot's long, proud domination of Alberta's southern plains.

Bill Corbett is the author of *Best of Alberta: Day Trips from Calgary*.

If you go ...



The legacy of the Blackfoot people is dramatically realized in southern Alberta. Each of the three sites mentioned in this article can easily occupy a half-day or more, depending on amount of time and level of curiosity. Calgary to Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump is a 160-kilometre journey, with Writing-on-Stone a further journey of 175 kilometres. For information on places to see, accommodations, and special events, contact:

Alberta South Tourism Destination Region
3096 Dunsmore Road S.E.
Medicine Hat, Alberta T1B 2X2
T: (403) 526-6355 or 1-800-ALBERTA
E: absouth1@telus.net
W: www.travelalbertasouth.com

Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park
Box 297
Milk River, Alberta T0K 1M0
T: (403) 647-2364
W: www.cd.gov.ab.ca/parks (click on "Gateway to Outdoor Adventure")

Some sites included in this article are open on a seasonal basis. For further information, contact:

Glenbow Museum
130-9 Avenue S.E.
Calgary, Alberta T2G 0P3
T: (403) 268-4100
E: glenbow@glenbow.org
W: www.glenbow.org

Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump
Box 1977
Fort Macleod, Alberta T0L 0Z0
T: (403) 553-2731
E: info@head-smashed-in.com
W: www.head-smashed-in.com

Blackfoot hammerstone

GLENBOW MUSEUM

A WINNER! The Canadian Aboriginal Youth Writing Challenge

Nicole Nicholas, sixteen, a grade eleven student at Spectrum Community High School in Victoria, B.C., is the winner of the Canadian Aboriginal Youth Writing Challenge, presented by Enbridge Inc. and organized by the Dominion Institute. Aboriginal students, fourteen to eighteen years of age, from across Canada were invited to write a story about a defining moment in aboriginal history. Ms. Nicholas's winning story "First Contact with the Europeans" was selected by an advisory committee of aboriginal authors and leaders, including Tantoo Cardinal, Chief Dwight Dorey, Tomson Highway, Jose Kusugak, Lee Maracle, Brian Maracle, Rachel A. Qitsualik, and Drew Hayden Taylor. She is scheduled to read her story at an official presentation in Ottawa on September 8.

First Contact with the Europeans by Nicole Nicholas

Out of the corner of my eye, I saw something odd creeping over the horizon; I quickly left my fire, and hurried to the beach. What was it? I could sense the uneasiness coming from the totem pole watchman. Could the rest of the camp? But mother told me not to worry, it was just a cloud. Father's totem pole would watch it. But the cloud started to look even stranger; it looked like the cloud was covered with spider webs. What was it? The adults thought it was a spirit. I heard talk about the spirit of pestilence. As it got closer, we began to see people on it. Why would there be people on a spirit? It couldn't be a spirit then ... could it have been a boat? The people on the boat were friendly, but we did not know the language they spoke. They did not stay for long. They mentioned the land belonged to them now. What did that mean? Land could not be owned.

About ten years later, I, much older now, saw another ship coming. I alerted the camp and we gathered around the totem pole I had carved. When these people landed, we did not understand them, either. But it was a different language than before. We began to trade our carvings, furs and other goods for artillery, utensils, and tools. They came and went for a long time, and we learned to decipher bits of their language, and they, ours. After I die, I was sure they still would be trading with us. After my death, my son, John, will continue...

The Russians, what they told us they were called, kept trading until a century passed. We learned all their language and customs well in this century. Our children became the children of the east. They became peacekeepers and translators for the elders who did not wish to learn the language of the Russians. The change of youth to the eastern way began the slow disappearance of our history. No more happens in my time, my son, Charles, will continue the story...

THE BEAVER COLLECTION

Haida village, Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands)

At the end of the century, more men, from a new country, came and changed the name of our island. We called this land Xhaidlagha Gwaayaai (Haida Gwaii), and they called this land the Queen Charlotte Islands. That was the name of the Europeans' boat, the *Queen Charlotte*. Around this time, we had almost 30,000 Haida on these islands, but the fur traders and explorers brought a strange disease they called smallpox. Soon entire camps were abandoned or the populations died because of all the disease riddled everywhere. By this time there were only 588 Haida left. It was just devastating. I was elderly and very lucky to have been spared. My daughters, though, were not so lucky. They had settled down with husbands, but the white men wanted them for their wives. When the white men came to take them ... my dear daughters felt already gravely ill. But there was a light during this tough time for my people: my daughters did not spread the disease to anyone in camp. Soon after they were taken from us, we held a ceremony to honour my daughters and their inevitable deaths. Our people lived now as we did before, but much weaker. Isaac, my son, carries on my story...

My father did not mention one of the

most important villages, Ninstints, was completely abandoned because of the smallpox and other diseases. Since the strange men came to our island long, long ago, we have been becoming more like them. Many of our customs and traditions have been lost. Our traditional clothing, the button blankets and our capes, used to be worn at all times; now those clothes are only worn during ceremonies and other special occasions. Everyone wore our traditional colours of black and red. They are not worn often anymore. We no longer have many ceremonies; they have been reduced to deaths and births. A lot of our art meanings have been buried with their artists. We are known for our art; the first thing thought of when Haida is mentioned is our art. The totem poles in Ninstints are very beautiful and were carved so graciously, but the origins of only six of the twenty-four are known. We lost our land to the greedy Europeans and made to live on small land. We were being treated like we were no longer humans. We were, to the Europeans, not able to do what even the simplest minded child could do. I felt like I really was not human, and I really couldn't do anything. It was the worst way to live. I sometimes wonder how life would be different if the white man had never come. How would our culture be? Would it be like it was hundreds of years ago? Would we rely solely on fishing, or animals we hunt in the forests? Would we have been at peace with nature after all these years? Would we still have changed our ways to keep up with the changing world around us, or would we have isolated ourselves so we can stay to our traditional ways? I guess we will never know. I leave the ending of this epic tale to my dear son, Eli ...

During my time, a lot of progress has been made. A lot of wrongs have been made right. Out Haida culture is slowly, but surely, creeping back to today's youth. Our strong and proud history is being told as tales from the elders. In 1960, we have been granted our right to be human again; we could decide who ruled what from now on. More people respect us and our history. A past tradition has been brought back to Haida Gwaii, the watchmen. My family has carved watchmen for as long as there were watchmen. I am told, soon I will be able to continue this tradition for my family, as our camp needs a new one.

Calling All Beaver Contributors
(Past and Present)

If you, or someone you know, have worked as a freelance writer for the Beaver please visit our website:

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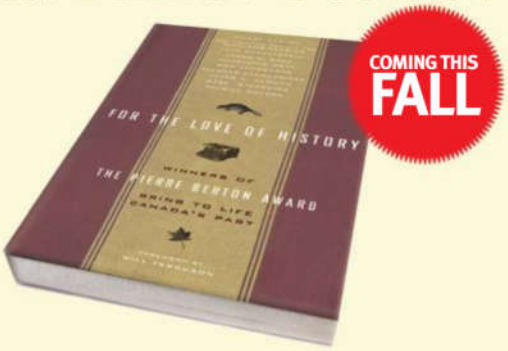

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PASSAGES

Arrivals

At the Annual General Meeting held June 18, 2005, in Winnipeg, three new members were elected to the Board:

James Baillie is counsel with the Toronto/New York firm of Torys LLP. Apart from two years as chair of the Ontario Securities Commission (1979–1981), his career has been in the practice of law.

He has had a lifelong interest in Canadian history and is a long-time supporter of Canada's National History Society. He is a director of Sun Life Financial and of corporations in the not-for-profit sector, including Bridgepoint Health. He has spoken and written before many audiences on matters relating primarily to business law. He holds Bachelor of Arts (1958) and Bachelor of Laws (1961) degrees from the University of Toronto and a Master of Laws (1964) from Harvard University.

Charlotte Gray is an award-winning historian. A past recipient of the History Society's Pierre Berton Award, she is the author of several bestselling books, including *Sisters in the Wilderness*, *A Museum Called Canada* and *Canada: A Portrait in Letters, 1800–2000*.

Ms. Gray was born in England and came to Canada in 1979. Before becoming a full-time author, she wrote for many Canadian magazines, including *Saturday Night*, where she had a monthly column on national politics for eight years. She appears regularly as a political and historical expert on television and radio current-affairs panels.

A graduate of Oxford University, Gray completed postgraduate work at the London School of Economics and holds honorary doctorates from Mount St. Vincent University in Nova Scotia and the University of Ottawa. She is an adjunct research professor in the Department of History at Carleton University.

Doug Owram is professor of history and provost and vice-president (academic) at the University of Alberta. He is the senior academic officer of the university and works with federal and provincial governments.

He is a Canadian historian who has authored or coauthored six books and edited a further two. His writings range from expansion into western Canada through a history of the baby boom, to a coauthored text on the history of the Canadian economy.

Recent publications include a piece on Canada for the Oxford History of the British Empire and a forthcoming paper on NAFTA. His writing has been recognized with election to the Royal Society of Canada (1990) and the University of Alberta's top research prize, the Kaplan Award (1995).He currently serves on the board of directors of the Social Science Federation of Canada. He has also served as a member of the board of directors of NeWest Press, and on grant committees of SSHRC and the Molson Prize Committee.

Dr. Owram was born in Aurora, Ontario, and educated at Queens University (B.A. Hons. History and Economics 1970; M.A. History 1972) and the University of Toronto (Ph.D. 1976).

Departures

The History Society's annual meeting also confirmed the retirement of board member **Charles Hou**. In 1996 Mr. Hou became the first recipient of the Governor General's Award for Excellence in Teaching Canadian History. Elected to the board of directors of the History Society in 1999, Charles has been a strong and important voice for the education community throughout his term of office. A long-time collector of Canadian political cartoons, and author of two volumes of books about political cartooning in Canada, Mr. Hou was presented with a specially commissioned cartoon drawn by Terry Mosher.

This issue of the *Beaver* marks a transition for the magazine and Canada's National History Society. **Annalee Greenberg**, editor of the *Beaver* since 1997, relinquishes the

BRUCE THOMAS BARR

pleasures of overseeing Canada's second-oldest continuously published magazine to undertake other adventures in living. Under her direction, the *Beaver* raised its profile significantly within the community of magazine readers and devotees of Canadian history. In 1998, she directed the launch of the brighter, more popular, reader-friendly magazine you have in your hands right now. During her tenure, subscriptions increased by 30 percent. In the more intimate world of the *Beaver's* editorial office, the effect of her being has been incalculably diffusive: She leaves her colleagues bereft of her discerning intelligence, sharp eye, good humour, and generous spirit. But she also leaves the *Beaver* strongly positioned to continue as a popular and intelligent contribution to Canadians' love affair with their own history. We wish her well.

Isabel Dietrich, who submitted this photograph to the *Beaver*, is the granddaughter of William Gill. She lives in Listowel, Ontario.

In the spring of 1910 and 1911, William Gill and his brother Grover travelled west to Saskatchewan from their home in Ethel, Ontario, to help build roads and bridges. They would send postcards home marked Moosomin, Broadview, Indian Head, Outlook, Tessier, Rosetown, Kindersley, Lebret, Lipton – a whole string of prairie towns springing up in the wave of immigration to the new province. Somewhere along the line, they intersected with photographer Donald M. Buchanan, a resident of Arcola and prolific recorder of the passing scene. William he captured sitting on the bridge, Grover behind the horses. The exact location of the bridge and the stream flowing below are unknown. But the great sweep of land and sky marks it as one of few other places on earth.

Do you have an old photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in our country's history? If you would like to submit it for possible publication, have it copied at your local photo shop (please don't send priceless originals) and send it to: Album, c/o *The Beaver*, #478–167 Lombard Ave., Winnipeg, MB, R3B 0T6. Include a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. To have your copy returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

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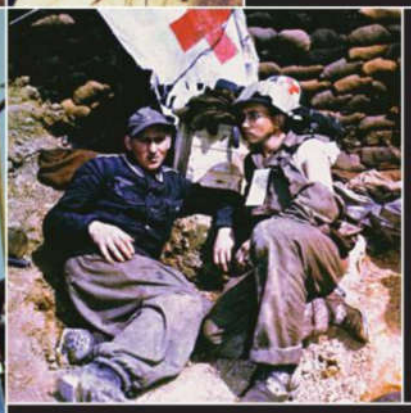

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